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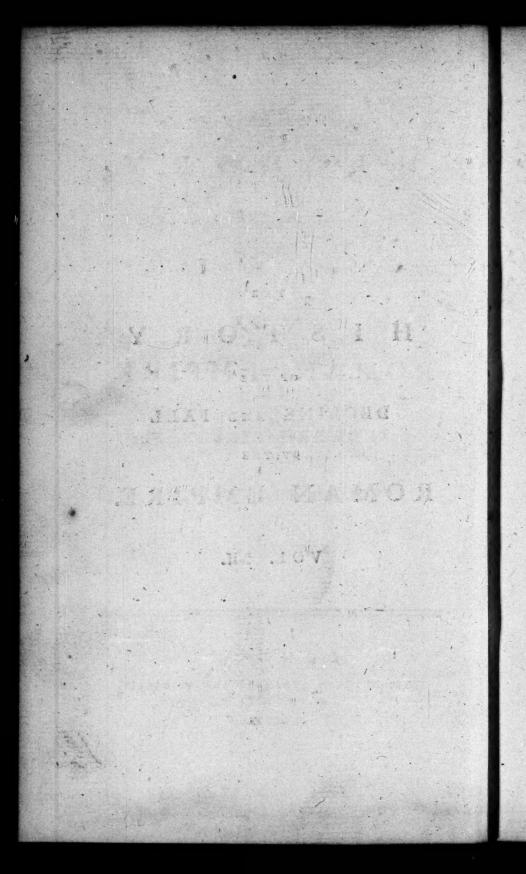
OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. XII.



HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Efq;

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

A NEW EDITION.

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CHAP. LXV.

Elevation of Timour or Tamerlane to the Throne of Samercand .- His Conquests in Persia, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia .-His Turkish War .- Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet .- Death of Timour .- Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet. - Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the First .- Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second.

HE conquest and monarchy of the world CHAP. was the first object of the ambition of LXV. TIMOUR. To live in the memory and esteem of Histories future ages was the fecond wish of his magnani- of Timous spirit. All the civil and military transac- Tamerlane. tions of his reign were diligently recorded in the Vol. XII. journals

CHAP. journals of his fecretaries : the authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the commentaries of his life, and the institutions of his government. But these cares were ineffectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or at least from the knowledge of Eu-

> These journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he fervilely praises the virtue and fortune of Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be feen in the Institutions, p. 215. 217. 349. 351.

2 These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe : but Mr. White gives some hope that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this " mi-" nute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful

3 I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turkish or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persic version, with an English translation and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langles, a learned Orientalist, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

4 Shaw Allum, the present Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the inftitutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence: but if any suspicions should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the patronage of a prince, less honourable perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookfeller : nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Persian, the real author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.

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rope. The nations which he vanquished exercised CHAP. a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny's, which had disfigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of Tamerlane 6. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeafible fuccession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlass: his fifth ancestor, Carashar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana: and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the females , with the Imperial

ftem.

⁵ The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much efteemed for its florid elegance of style: Abmedis Arabsiada (Ahmed Ebn Arabshah) Vita et Rerum gestarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Franequeræ, 1767, 2 tom. in 4to. This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy : the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, &c. The copious article of TIMUR, in Bibliothéque Orientale, is of a mixed nature, as d'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877-888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the Lebtarikh.

⁶ Demir, or Timour, fignifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and Beg is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into Lenc, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Ta-

⁷ After relating some false and foolish tales of Timour Lenc, Arabshah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinsman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peevishly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. 1. p. 25.). The testimony of Abulghazi Khan (P. ii. c. 5. P. v. c. 4.) is clear, unquestionable, and decisive.

CHAP. stem. He was born forty miles to the fouth of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thoufand horse . His birth " was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Afiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence; and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks ", invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he stood forth as the deliverer of his country; and the eyes and

His first adven, tures. A. D. 1361-3370.

> 8 According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the posterity of the elder should succeed to the dignity of khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their minister and general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the first steps of Timour's ambition (Institutions, p. 24, 23. from the MS. fragments of Timour's history).

> 9 See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's Geography (Chorasmize, &c. Descriptio, p. 60, 61.), in the iiid volume of

Hudson's Minor Greek Geographers.

10 See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Differtat. tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson Ulugh Beg. He was born A. D. 1336, April 9, 110 57' P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the furname of Saheb Keran, or mafter of the conjunctions (Bibliot. Orient. p. 878.).

In the Inflitutions of Timour, these subjects of the khan of Kashgar are most improperly styled Ouzbegs, or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, P. v. c. 5. P. vii. c. 5.). Could I be fure that this word is in the Turkish original, I would boldly pronounce, that the Institutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, fince the establishment of

the Uzbeks in Transoxiana.

wishes

wishes of the people were turned towards an hero CHAP. who fuffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their falvation to fupport him with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of danger they were filent and afraid: and, after waiting feven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the defert with only fixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible flaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim. "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the " divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was foon diminished by the desertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the defert with his wife, feven companions, and four horses; and fixty-two days was he plunged in a loathfome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage, and the remorfe of the oppressor. After fwimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during fome months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone brighter in adversity; he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the affociates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was fucceffively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously fought him in the defert; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himfelf as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell

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" upon

CHAP. "upon me," fays Timour, "they were over-" whelmed with joy; and they alighted from " their horses; and they came and kneeled; and " they kiffed my ftirrup. I also came down from " my horse, and took each of them in my arms. " And I put my turban on the head of the first "chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and " wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of " the fecond; and the third, I clothed in my own " coat. And they wept, and I wept also; and " the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. " And we mounted our horfes, and came to my " dwelling; and I collected my people, and made " a feast." His trusty bands were soon encreased by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against a soperior foe; and after some viciffitudes of war, the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and some blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose fifter was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels. exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy: and, after a fmall defeat, Houssein was flain by fome fagacious friends, who prefumed, for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four 12, and in a general

The ist book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 3-77.). enlarges

C H A P. LXV. He afcends the throne

of Zagatai, A. D. 1370, April.

general diet or couroultai, he was invested with Imperial command, but he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal khan ferved as a private officer in the armies of his fervant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have fatiffied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twentyfeven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirtyfive campaigns; without describing the lines of march, which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Afia; I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and, III. India 18, and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

I. For every war, a motive of fafety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the jurifprudence of conquerors. No fooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Aboufaid, the last of the descendants of the great

His conquefts,
A. D.
1370—
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I. Of Perfia,
A. D.
1380—
1393.

enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen defigns and enterprises which most truly constitute his personal merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah, P. i. c. 1-12.

¹³ The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India, are represented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah, c. 13—55. Consult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.

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Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might feem to liften to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they feparately stood, and successively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of refistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kissed the footstool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of filks, horses and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical spectator observed, that there were only eight slaves. " I " myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour 14. Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand foldiers, the coul or main-body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour; he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a scymetar 15; the Moguls rallied; the head of Manfour was thrown

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¹⁴ The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of nine, is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical History into nine parts.

¹⁵ According to Arabshah (P. i. c. 28. p. 183.), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Mansour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (1. iii. c. 25.) has magnified his courage.

at his feet, and he declared his esteem of the CHAP. valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of fo intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian gulf; and the richness and weakness of Ormuz 16 were displayed in an annual tribute of fix hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the feat of the caliphs; but the noblest conquest of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious fucceffor. The whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the fources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience: he entered Edeffa; and the Turkmans of the black sheep were chaftised for the sacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the gazie, or holy war; and the prince of Teflis became his proselyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the II. of invasion of Turkestan, or the eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the

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Turkeftan, A. D. 1370-13831

16 The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possessed large territories both in Persia and Arabia; but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman. and at last were delivered (A. D. 1505) by the Portuguese tyrants. from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, 1. i. c. 15, 16. fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original . Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' History of Persia, p. 376-416. and the Itineraries inferted in the 1st volume of Ramuño, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167. of Andrea Corfali (1517), fol. 202, 203, and of Odoardo Barbeffa (in 1516), fol. 315-318,).

impunity

LXV.

CHAP. impunity of the Getes: he passed the Sihoon, fubdued the kingdom of Cashgar, and marched feven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north-east of Samarcand; and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtish, engraved in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary 17, was founded on the double motive of aiding the diffressed, and chaftising the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court: the ambaffadors of Aurus Khan were dimissed with an haughty denial, and followed on the fame day by the armies of Zagatai; and their fuccess established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the north. But after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the facred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of ninety thousand horse: with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circaffia, and Russia, he passed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter fnows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation and a glorious victory, the emperor refolved on revenge: and by the east, and the west, of the Caspian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak

of Kipzak, Ruf-6a, &c. A. D. 1390-1396.

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¹⁷ Arabshah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a fingular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. i. c. 45-49.).

with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles CHAP. were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chace. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reverfed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Toushi to the wind of desolation 18. He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia; a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might eafily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the refistance would have been feeble. fince the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the South, the desolate country was exhaufted, and the Mogul foldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious

¹⁸ Institutions of Timour, p. 123. 125. Mr. White, the editor, bestows some animadversion on the superficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.

CHAP. furs, of linen of Antioch 19, and of ingots of gold and filver 20. On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the confuls and merchants of Egypt 21, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trufted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or flavery 22. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilization;

> 19 The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in tuins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

> 20 M. Levésque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 64-67. before the French version of the Institutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Ruffian Annals is sufficient to prove that Moscow, which fix years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

> 21 An Egyptian conful from Grand Cairo, is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt

(Ramusio, tom. ii. fol. 92.).

22 The fack of Azoph is described by Sherefeddin (1. iii. c 55.); and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Redufiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarvifiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 802-805.). He had conversed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been fent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had loft at Azoph three fons and 12,000 ducats.

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and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated CHAP. to the region of perpetual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which authorifed his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening

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III. When Timour first proposed to his princes III. Of and emirs the invasion of India or Hindostan 14, tan, he was answered by a murmur of discontent: "The rivers! and the mountains and deferts! and " the foldiers clad in armour! and the elephants, " destroyers of men!" But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors: and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his fpies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of fultar Mahmood was despised even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions: and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninetytwo fquadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus, they croffed one of the ridges of

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24 For the Indian war, fee the Inflitutions (p. 129-139.), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the history of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1-20.), which throws a general light on the affairs of

Hindostan.

mountains.

²³ Sherefeddin only fays (1. iii. c. 13.), that the rays of the fetting, and those of the rifing fun, were scarcely separated by any interval; a problem which may be folved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long summer twilight. But a day of forty days (Khondemir apud d'Herbelot, p. 880.) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

CHAP.

mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers The stony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were fubdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the fnow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable fcaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour croffed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the foot-steps of Alexander, the Punjab, or five rivers 25, that fall into the master-stream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than fix hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the fouth-east; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had atchieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the defert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the defert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subfifted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The fiege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the fultan Mahmoud and his vizir descend into the plain, with ten thousand

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²⁵ The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir, he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

cuiraffiers, forty thousand of his foot-guards, and CHAP one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are faid to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a disch, of iron fpikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to fmile at their own fears; and, as foon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the stately mosch; but the order or licence of a general pillage and maffacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still furpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems. In this pious design, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the statue of the cow, that feems to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant among the mountains of Thibet 26. His return

²⁰ The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rife in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet so capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern story. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory,

CHAP,

return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

His war against fultan Bajazet, A. D. 1400, September of

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It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Chriftians, and the ambitious deligns of the fultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by fixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia 27. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Perfia were commanded to affemble at Ispahan, and wait the arrival of the Imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter feafon; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour: the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran; and if both religions boafted of their martyrs, that name is more justly due to the Christian (tom. il. c. 19. p.783-201.); which agree with each other in the

pardening 1774, a British campb (Rennella Memony pard 5945, 91. 99.) a sugar that the Arabic and Principle (Rennella Memony pard 5945, 91. 99.)

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Therefeddin (1. v.c. 14116) stoute the end of the int books, and Sherefeddin (1. v.c. 14116) to the chirance of Timourinte Syria.

1 the less boundable epithet of Turkmens. Yet I

prisoners, who were offered the choice of ab- CHAP. juration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces; which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will feldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vaffals; and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably purfued. The refemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The first epiftle 28 of the Mogul emperor must have provoked, instead of reconciling the Turkish fultan; whose family and nation he affected to despise 29.

²⁸ We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the Institutions (p. 147.), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 19. p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the spirit and substance rather than in the style. It is probable, that they have been translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues.

²⁹ The Mogul emir distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and stigmatises the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. Yet I Vol. XII. C

·LXV.

CHAP. " Dost thou not know, that the greatest part of " Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that " our invincible forces extend from one fea to " the other? that the potentates of the earth " form a line before our gate? and that we have a compelled fortune herfelf to watch over the or prosperity of our empire? What is the foundase tion of thy infolence and folly? Thou hast fought fome battles in the woods of Anatolia; of contemptible trophies! Thou haft obtained of fome victories over the Christians of Europe; " thy fword was bleffed by the apostle of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, " in waging war against the insidels, is the sole " confideration that prevents us from destroying " thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the " Moslem world. Be wife in time; reflect; " repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, " which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou " art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou feek " to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee under their feet." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a foul which was deeply ftung by fuch unufual contempt. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the defert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumer-" able: be they fo; but what are the arrows of of their women, is afcribed in a much higher degree by Aranibah.

do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman failor, those inland shepherds were so remote from the intait. the fea, and all maritime affairs.

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of the flying Tartar against the scymetars and CHAP. battle-axes of my firm and invincible fanizaries? . I will guard the princes who have implored my " protection : feek them in my tents. The cities " of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine, and " unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sul-" tania." The ungovernable rage of the fultan at length betrayed him to an infult of a more domestic kind. " If I fly from thy arms," faid he, " may my wives be thrice divorced from my " bed; but if thou half not courage to meet me " in the field, mayest thou again receive thy wives " after they have thrice endured the embraces of " a ftranger 30,33 Any violation by word or deed of the fecrecy of the Haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations 31; and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and personal resentment. Yet in his first expedition, Timour was fatisfied with the fiege and destruction of Siwas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indifcretion of the Ottoman, on a

30 According to the Koran (c. ii. p. 27. and Sale's Discourses, p. 134.), a Musilman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce), could not take her again, till after she had been married to, and repudiated by, another husband; an ignominious transaction, which it is needless to aggravate by supposing, that the first husband must see her enjoyed by a second before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, 1. ii. c. 21.).

11 The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabshah to the Turkish nations; and it is remarkable chough, that Challed Condyles (h. ii. p. 55.) had some knowledge of the prejudice; and the infult.

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CHAP. LXV.

Timour invades Syria, A. D. 1400.

Aleppo

garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Musulman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople: and after this falutary lesson, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invalion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is styled the Kaissar of Roum, the Cæfar of the Romans: a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the fuccessors of Constantine 32 and bersalar

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria: but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circaffians 33; and their favourite Barkok, from a flave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midft of rebellion and difcord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambaffadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his fon Farage. The Syrian emirs 34 erewhore of Ali and Holam; and he had imbibed

32 For the style of the Moguls, see the Institutions (p. 131. 147.) and for the Perfians, the Bibliotheque Orientale (p. 882.): but I do not find that the title of Cæfar has been applied by the Arabians, or affumed by the Ottomans themselves.

33 See the reigns of Barkok and Pharadge, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. L. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboutmahafen, Ebn Schounab, and Aintabi, has added some facts to our common flock of materials. 2019drall b) shrewings - 1997 564.

34 For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabshah, though a partial, is a credible, witness (tom. i. c. 64-68. tom.

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were affembled at Aleppo to repel the invafion: CHAP. they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their fwords and lances of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populouiness of fixty, thousand villages: and instead of fustaining a fiege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and fome powerful emirs had been feduced to defert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry compleated the difmay and diforder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thoulands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street; the Moguls entered with the fugitives : and, after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was furrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the Sacks Suppliants and captives, Timour distinguished the Aleppo, A. D. doctors of the daw, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference 35. The Mogul prince was a zealous Musulman but his Persian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hosain; and he had imbibed

1400, Nov. 11,

tom, ii. c. 1—14.). Timour must have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in some measure, to respect his enemy and himself. His bitters may correct There interesting convertations appear to have been copied by Arabihah (tom. P. e. 68. p. 645.) from the cadhi and hiftotran Ebn Schounali, a principal actor, of Yet how could he be alive feventy-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792) to short nom \$ 14 For these recent and comessic transactions, Arabhan, though a parist, is a credible, within from i. c. 64-68, tom:

CHAP.

a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the fon of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these doctors he proposed a captions question, which the casualts of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of refolving. are the true martyrs, of thole who are flain on " my fide, or on that of my enemies?" But he was filenced, or fatisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the enlign, constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party, who light only for the glory of God, may deferve that facred appellation. The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the franknels of a doctor, too honelt for his fituation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an " usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the " lawful fuccessor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation. "What is your age?" faid he to the cadhi. "Fifty years."—" It would be the age of my eldest son: you see me here (continued "Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet 66 by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to "fubdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and "God is my witness, that in all my wars I have " never been the aggressor, and that my enemies " have always been the authors of their own " calamity." During this peaceful conversation, the

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the fireets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and CHAP. re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, LXV. with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his foldiers might fimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of pro-ducing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his cultom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the fealt of victory, while the furviving Mollems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppe to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his diffress and despair: one of his nephews deserted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the fultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls; and Timour confented to raife the fiege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ranfom; each article of nine pieces. But no fooner had he introduced himfelf into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribu- Damastion of ten millions of gold; and animated his cus, A.D. troops to chaftife the posterity of those Syrians 1401, who had executed, or approved, the murder of January 23, the grandion of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Holein; and



and a colony of artificers whom he fent to labour at Samarcand, were alone referved in the general maffacre: and, after a period of feven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The loffes and fatigues of the came paign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames; luvades Life Isni A and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Aline who were defirous to vifit the tomb of his donbert have ex patiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention 36, that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor Confcious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list 37;

and Bagdad, A. D. 1401, July 23.

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36 The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are represented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29-

43.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15-18.) and bed ed like 37 This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather

by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.); and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek historian (Phranza, 1. i. c. 29.) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggins reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tarvifianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800.) 1,100,000; and the enormous fum of 1,600,000 is attefted by a German foldier, who was prefent at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcondyl. 1, iii. p. 82.). Timour, in his Infittutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues. tird wident, that the Moguis were the more numerous.

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but the splendid commands of five, and ten, CHA thousand horse, may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective foldiers 38. In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immente riches : but the delivery of their pay and arrears for feven years, more firmly attached them of Palestine and Egypt , thrandard bas satisfied to

Anatolia A. D. 1402.

did.

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During of this diversion of the Mogule arms Invades Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more ferious encounter as They confifted wof four hundred thousand horse and foot 39 whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries who have been gradually raifed to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuiraffiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armourt; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had affigned a fettlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the fultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he difplayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortu-

³⁸ A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 280.).

¹⁹ Timour himfelf fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153.), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (d. i. c. 29.), and fwelled by the German foldier to 1.400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous.



CHAP pate Suvas. In the mean while, Tinhour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldness was fecured by the wifest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains. and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying foundrons, who marked his road and preceded his flandard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dextroully inclined to the left : occupied Cæfarea; traverfed the falt defert and the river Halys; and invested Angora: while the fultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a facil to: he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action; the plains round that city were the fcene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this signal victory, the Mogul emperor was indebted to him: felf, to the genius of the moment, and the difcipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics; without violating the manners, of his nation ", whose force ffill consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous

Battle of Angora, A. D. 1402, July 28.

> 40 It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journies of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles : to Smyrna xx. to Kiotahia x. to Bourla x. to Cæsarea viii. to Sinope xi to Nicomedia ix. to Conftantinople xii. or xiii. (see Tournefort, Voyage an Levant, oc. 47.); but Voltaine's fleange fulpicion, Mix entelationat

> see the Systems of Tactics in the Institutions, which the English editors have illustrated with claborate plans, p. 373-407.).

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cavalry. From a fingle troop to a great army. CH the mode of attack was the same: a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings fuccessively moved for wards in their feveral divisions, and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitlese or unfuccefsful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the fignal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person 42. But in the battle of Angora, the main, body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the fons and grandions of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentationsly shewed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory: the use of the Greek fire, was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but: had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial, thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day 43. In that day

42 The fultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the Institutes (p. 156, 157.).

43 The Greek fire, on Timour's fide, is attefted by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's strange suspicion, that some cannon inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Dehli, is resuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

Bajazet

CHAP. Bajazet displayed the qualities of a foldier and a chief : | but his genius funk under a ftronger afcendant; and from various motives, the greatest part of his troops falled him in the decifive moment: His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and beven his for Soliman too haftily withdrew from the field. Theoforces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emiffaries of Timour 4, who reproached their ignoble fervitude under the flaves of their fathers , and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuiralhers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irrefiftible arms; but thefe men of iron were foon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit; and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate fultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was purfued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia

Defeat and captivity of Bajazet.

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not be under the Moderns of Afra rejoiced in their notation has different this fecret and important negociation the Tartars, Which is indifficult to the the tartars, which is indifficult to the tartars, which is indifficult to the tartars and the tartars. evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. art peggr.) Thrkift, (Annal. Heunclay, p. 335.), and Perfian historians (Khondemir, apud d'Herpetot, p. 882.).

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRET

fubmitted to the conquetor, who planted his CHA flandard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all fides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldest and best beloved of his grandfons, was dispatched to Boursa with thirty thousand horse: and fuch was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing din five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course : and Solimans the fon of Bajazet, had already paffed over to Europe with the royal treasurers The fpoil, however, of the palace and city was immenfe: the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashess From Bourfa, the grandfon of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city; and the Mogul fquadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same suchess attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions : and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone del ferved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence, the place was taken by fform; all that breathed was put to the fword; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks por great thips of Europe, that rode at anchor in the The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their harbour. deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced Submitted



Defeat and capkivity of Bajazet

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The flory of his iron cage

difproved by the Perfian historian of Timour; reduced a foreress which had sustained feven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet ...

The iron case in which Bajazet was impulioned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who fmile at the vulgar credality ". They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Alie which has been given to our curiofity in a French verifion. and from which I shall collect and abridge a more fpecious narrative of this memorable transaction. No fooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, that he graciously stept forwards to receive him; feated him by his fide, and mingled with just reproaches a foothing pity for his rank and misfortune " Alas!" faid the emperor, " the decree of fate " is now accomplished by your own fault: it is "the web which you have woven, the thorns " of the tree which yourfelf have planted. I " wished to spare, and even to affist, the cham-" pion of the Moslems: you braved our threats; " you despited our friendship; you forced us to " enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. 66 Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am

45 Por the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefieldin (k.v. c. 44-65.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20-35.). On this part only of Timour's history, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemis, p. 53-55. Annal. Leunclav. p. 320-322.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l.i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15-17. Chalcondyles, l. iii.).

46 The scepticism of Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, c.

46 The feepticism of Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, c. 88.) is ready on this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.

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of not ignorant of the fate which you referved for CHAP " myfelf and my troops. But I difdain to re-"tallate: your life and honour are fecure; and "I shall express my gratitude to God by my "clemency to man." The royal captive shewed fome figns of repentancey accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his fon Moufa, who, at his requelt, was fought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavillion; and the respect of the guards could be furpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Bourfa, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and hufband; but he pioully required, that the Servian princefs, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promife was difappointed by the fultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful phyficians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the maufoleum which he had erected at Bourfa; and his fon Moufa, after receiving a rich prefent of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invefted

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CHAP. velled by a patent in red ink with the kingdom he Italian is deservedly famous assistent to

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his for and grandfon, nineteen years after his decease 47, and at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories ; yet flattery, more especially in the light is base and audacious; and the harfn and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attelted by a chain of wirnelles, forme of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country. I. The reader has not for-got the garrifon of French, whom the marthat Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adverlary; and it is more than probable, that some of them accompanied the Greek embaffy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the bardships of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the marshal's servant and historian, within the

attefted. 1. by the French:

> and died in 1459. 47 See the history of Sherefeddin, (L v. C. 49, 52, 53, 59, 60.). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 14,24, and dedicated to fultan Ibrahim, the fon of Sharokh, the for of Timour, who

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reigned in Fariftan in his father's lifetime ods vimagelings had 48 After the perufal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounan, &c., the learned d'Herbelot (Bibliot, Orientale, p. 884) may affirm, that this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories: but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah, leaves some room to fuspect his accuracy.

mitafice of level years . 2. The hame of Poggius E. H.A.P. the Italian " is defervedly famous among the vevivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His a. by the elegant dialogue on the vicilitudes of fortune" was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight overs takens the Tarkish victory of Tanier lane whold he cerebrates as not inferior to the munitious Barbarians of antiquity. Of his exproits and discipline Poggius was informed by leveral ocular witheles; nor does he forget an example to appoint to his theme as the Ottoman monarch whom the Scythian confined like a wild beat in an fron cage, and exhibited a spec-tacte to Afia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the lame story, whether falle or true, was imported into Europe of look and an area and allowed the lame story,

LXV.

il 149 Et fut thi-meme (Bajozet) pris, let mene en prifon, en las quelle mourut de dure more! Memoires de Boucicault, P.i. c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was fill governor of Genoal from whence he was expelled in the year 1409, by a popular infurrection (Muratori; Annali d'Italia, tom til.

P. 473, 474.).
So The reader will find a fatisfactory account of the life and williams of Bogglus, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lanfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infime Ætatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305-308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

The dialogue de Varietate Fortung (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1723, in 400), was composed a mort time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 3),

and confequently about the end of the year 1430. Regem vivilil de pit, caveaque in mount feire in clus canris Regem vivilil de pit, caveaque in mount feire inclutum per om-chem Anam circumulit egregium admirandumque pectaculum fortunz, editance Vol. XII.

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C H A P. LXV. 3. by the Arabs;

with the first tidings of the revolution 33. 3. At the time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed AEbn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journies over Turkey and Tartary 1. Without any poffible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewife relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indifcreet mention of women and divorces was deeply refented by the jealous Tartar: in the fealt of victory, the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the fultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the flaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said, that his fucceffors, except in a fingle instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the fixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequius 15, ambassador from the court of Vienna

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Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 800.), and the Annales Estenses (tom. xviii. p. 974.). The two authors, Andres de Redussis de Quero, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive.

of the former is the most politive.

54 See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas. A. H. 830 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

mæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

55 Busbequius in Legatione Turcica, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic, princess (Cantemir, p. 83.93.).

to the great Soliman. 14. Such is the feparation CHAP. of language, that the tellimony of a Greek is not of language, that the tellimony of a Greek is now deless independent than that of a Liatin or an Arab. 4. by the Greeks; I fuppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas. who flourished in a later period, and who foeak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza 56, protovestiare of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event he was fent ambaffador to Amurath the fecond and the historian might converse with fome veteranot Janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the fultan, and had themselves feen him in his iron cage. c. The last evidence, in every fense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been confulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, sand Cantemir 57. They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot fligmatize the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

Manch 9

From these opposite premises, a fair and mode- probable rate conclusion may be deduced. I am farisfied concluthat Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonised by success, affected the character of generofity. But his mind was infenfibly alienated by the unfeafonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his ene-

57 Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock, Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. Dynaft. Cantemir, p. 55.

mies,

⁵⁶ See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.). Chalcondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's chains.



mies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement; and Timour bettayed a defign of leading his toyal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul, emperor to impole a harther restraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton infult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour bad read in some fabrilous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person, and explate the guilt, of the Roman Ciefat 58. But the frength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be afcribed to the feverity of Timour. He warred not with the dead; a tear and a sepulchre were all that he could bellow on a caprive who was delivered from his power; and if Moufe, the for of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bourla, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful fovereigns.

Death of Bajaset, A. D. 1403, March 9.

From the Irtilli and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was bound-

Term of the conquefts of Timour, A. D. 1403.

> 18 A Sapor, king of Perlia, had been made prisoner and inclosed in the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Calerins Czfor. Such is the fable related by Entychical (Amast tom inc. p. Asharst Percek) in The recollection of the trachitary (Decline and Fallage of the Orientale of the agest which precede the the trachitary of the Orientale of the agest which precede the Hegira.

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less, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and can ?. convert the Christian kingdoms of the Weft, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmail verge of the land, but an infuperable, though narrow, fea folled between the two continents of Europe and Afra is, and the lord of fo many tomans, or myriads, of horfe, was not maller of a fingle galley. The two passages of the Besphorus and Heltespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Furks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion to set with union and firmiels in the common cause the double fireights were guarded with thips and fortifications; and they leparately with held the transports, which Thnour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time, they foothed his pride with tributary gifts and fuppliant embuffies, and prudently tempted him to fetreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the for of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the fword; and reiterated his ardent with, of calting himfelf in perion at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek

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A Sapor, king of Perils, had been made prifoner and in 39 Arabinah (tom, il. c. 25.) describes, like a curiqui traveller, the streights of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquite a just idea of these evenes, Phave compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguis, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambullador mentions this hoftile union of the Christians and Ottomane (Vie de Timour, p. 96.).

38

CHAP. emperor 60 (either John or Manuel) fubmitted to pay the fame tribute which he had ftipulated with the Durkish fultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could abfolve his confeience fo foon as the Mogul arms had fetired from Anatolia But the fears and fancy of nations afcribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of valt and romantic compass; a design of fubduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Streights of Gibraltar, and, after imposing this yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of return ing home by the deferts of Ruffia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypti: the shonours of the prayer and the coin; attefted at Cairo the Supremacy of Timour; stand a rare giftuofa giraffe, or camelopard, and nine offriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world Our imagination is not less aftonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates and almost accomplishes the invasion of the Chinese empire 64 Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Musilman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the in-

road to China, which Arabshah (tom, ii. c. 33.) paints in yague,

and rhetorical colours.

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⁶⁰ Since the name of Cæsar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherefeddin, 1, v. e 54.) were confounded with the Christian lords of Gallipoli, Theffalomea, &c. under the title of Tekkur, which is derived by corruption from the genitive re supe (Cantendr, p. 51.)

61 See Sherefeddin, l. V. c. 4. who marks, in a just itinerary, the

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A. IV.

.1011 January C.

fidels; and as he now flood at the gates of para CHAP. dife, he might best fecure his glorious entrance by demolishing the idols of China, founding moschs in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God, and his prophet May homet The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an infult on the Mogul name; and the diforders of the empire afforded the faireft on portunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongwood founder of the dynasty of Ming, died four years before the battle of Angora ; and his grandfore a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war Will Before he evacuated AnatoliaT Timour dispatched beyond the Sihoon la mus merous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the defert; and by the diligence of his lieutenant, he foon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the fource of the Irtish to the wall. of China. During these preparations, the emperor atchieved the final conquest of Georgia passed the winter on the banks of the Arakes appealed the troubles of Perlia; and flowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months, and see the same of sooil se

62 Synopsis Hift. Sinicæ, p. 74-76 (in the lyth part of the Relations de Theyenot). Duhalde, Hift, de la Chine (tom. in per 507, 508. folio edition); and for the chronology of the Chinese emperors, de Guignes, Hift, des Huns, tom, i. p. 74, 7412 998 10

coacto China, which Arabihah (tomq. c. 33) paints in vague.

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LXX.

His triumph at
Samarcand,
A. D.
1404,
July—
A. D.
1405,
January 8.

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On the throne of Samarcand be displayed in a short repose his magnificence and bower; liftened to the complaints of the people; diftributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambaffadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Turrary, Ruffia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a fuit of tapeltry which eclipfed the pencil of the Oriental artifis. The marriage of fix of the emperor's grandions was eftermed an act of religion, as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient calibbs was revived in their nupriats. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were dut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was fpread with pyramids of meat, and vafes of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambaffadors of Europe (fays the haughty Perfian) excluded from the feath; fince even the caffes, the smallest of fift, find their place in the ocean of The public troops translations broken come and and the

63 For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, fee Shere-feddin (l. vi. c. 1-30.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 35-47.).

⁶⁴ Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24.) mentions the amballadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III, king of Castile; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (Mariana, Hist, Hispan, l. xix. c.

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joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades; CHAP. the trades of Samarcand passed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute fome quaint device, fome marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage. contracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the puptial chambers; nine times, according to the Afiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed; every law was relaxed. every pleafure was allowed; the people was free, the fovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The flandard was unfurled for the invalion of China: the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran foldiers of Iran and Touran: their baggage and providions were transported by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than fix months were employed in the tran-

11. tom. ii. p. 209, 330. Avertiffement à l'Hift, de Timur Bec. p. 28-23.). There appears likewife to have been fome correspondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. king of France (Histoire de France, par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.).

1. 77

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CHAP. quil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the feverity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched feventy-fix parafangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indifcreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Afia expired in the feventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had afcended the throne of Zagatai. His defigns were loft; his armies were disbanded; China was faved; and fourteen years after his deceafe, the most powerful of his children fent an embaffy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin 59.

on the road to China, A. D. 1405, April 1.

His death

Character and merits of Timour.

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; his posterity is still invested with the Imperial title; and the admiration of his fubjects. who revered him almost as a deity, may be justi-fied in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies 66. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so effential to himself and to the world,

167 This new tyftem was the littlifed front as the

66 From Arabihah, tom, ii. c. of. The bright or fofter colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, d'Herbelot, and the Inftituthe ofe and authority of that Ragan code.

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⁶⁵ See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the Relations de Theyenot). They presented the emperor of China with an old horse which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they 801. 863.) reproves the impicty of Tinisa mora 224 mi benrure

was corroborated by temperance and exercise. CHAP. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chefs, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements 67. In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musulman 68; but his found understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superstitious reverence for omens and prophefies, for faints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire, he stood alone and absolute, without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to feduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that whatever might be the confequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour: His fons and grandfons, of whom Timour left fix-and-thirty at his decease, were his first and

67 His new fystem was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt, with the victory of a subject: a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

68 See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 15. 25. Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 96. p. 801. 803.) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almost preferred to the Koran, the Yacsa, or Law of Zingis (chi Deus maledicat): nor will be believe that Sharokh had abolished the use and authority of that Pagan code.

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CHAP.

P. most submissive subjects; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected. according to the laws of Zingis, with the haftonade, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the focial virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest; and it may be sufficient to applaud the wisdom of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. I To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience to chastife the proud, to protect the weak to reward the deferving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to fecure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the foldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate affeffment, to encrease the revenue, without encreasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompense. Timour might boast, that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories, and a title to univerfal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude; and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was 17 rather

rather the feourge than the benefactor of man- C HAP. kind, 17. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the difeafer By their rapine, cruelty, and difcord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subieds: but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities, was often marked by his aboninable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Aftracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ifpahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damafcus, Bourla, Smyrna, and a thouland others, were facked, or burne, or utterly deftroyed, in his prefence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had facrificed to the eftablishment of peace and order . His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Plindollar, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope of a defire of preferving those diftant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with spoil a but he left behind him neither thoops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken

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Befides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the likth volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a single note (p. 36. Note 25.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's presace) p. 7. Yet I can excule a generous enthusam in the reader, and fill more in the editor, of the Instructors.

LXV.

CHAP. the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invalion had aggravated or caused; nor were these evils compenfated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and fometimes blafted, by the abfence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his fervants, and even his fons, forgot their mafter and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redreffed by the tardy rigour of enquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the Institutions of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatfoever might be the bleffings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren "; the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with fome glory by Sharokh his youngest fon; but after bis decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not

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⁷⁰ Confult the last chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes (Hift. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.) Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 1-62. The story of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told: and the second and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of CHAP. Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls 71) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe. their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the of Bajazet, ground, but no fooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every fenfe, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hords of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquelts of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five fons were eager, by civil difcord, to confume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions 72. 1. It is doubt- 1: Muftaful, whether I relate the story of the true Mustapha, or of an impostor, who personated that lost

Civil wars of the fons A. D. 1403-1421.

71 Shah Allum, the prefent Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour by Miran Shah, his third fon. See the iid volume of Dow's History of Hindostan and an additional to

prince.

⁷² The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir, (p. 58—82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcondyles (l. iv. and v.). Phranza (l. i. c. 30—32.), and Ducas (c. 18—27.), the last is the most copious and best informed. fagrer feet

3. Ifa;

CHAP. prince. He fought by his father's fide in the battle of Angora: but when the captive fultan was permitted to enquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found; and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the flain. If Multapha escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Theffaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the fon and fucceffor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or falle, Mustapha been faved by the Greeks, and reftored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind feemed to argue his spurious birth; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman fultan; his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt. fimilar character and claim was afferted by feveral rival pretenders; thirty persons are faid to have fuffered under the name of Mustapha; and these frequent executions may perhaps infinuate, that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's captivity, Isa 73 reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea: and his ambaffadors were difmiffed from the presence of Timour with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their mafter was foon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous bro-

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⁷³ Arabihah, tom. ii. c. 26. whole testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of Isa (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.) ther,

ther, the fovereign of Amafia; and the final event fuggested a pious allusion, what the law of Moses and lefus, of iffa and Monfa, had been abrogated by the greater Mahometas 3. Soliman is not numbered in the diffs of the Turkith emperors : yet he checked the wintdrious progress of the Mogulis and after theirs departure, unleed for a while the thrones of Admanople and Bourfa. In war he was brave, waltive, and fortunate: his courage was softened by chemency but it was likewife inflamed by prefumption, and corrupted by intemperaned and idleness if Her relaxed the nerves of disciplinate in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble: his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law and his daily drunkenness so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the sumber of intoxication, he was furprifed by his brother Moufa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and flain in a bath, after a reign of feven years and ten months. 14. The investiture of Mousa degraded him as the flave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, not could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the lovereign of Romania. Moufa fled in disguise from the palace of Boursa; traversed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Adrianople, fo recently stained with the blood of Soliman. Vol. XII.

CHAP.

3. Soliman, A. D. 1403-1410.

4. Moufa, A. D. LXV.

CHAP. In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea; but Moufa was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After refigning the fovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and the fuperior ascendant of his brother Mahomet. 5. The final victory of Mahomet was the just recompense of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle, in Asiatic warfare, was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia 74, which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and reprefents on a fmaller fcale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his filent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was respected; till, after the triumph of Moufa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty and Romania by arms; and the foldier who prefented him

5. Mahomet I. A. D. 1413-3441.

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⁷⁴ Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Busbequius, epist. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amasiano.

with the head of Mousa was rewarded as the CHAP. benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his fole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim 73, who might guide the youth of his fon Amurath; and fuch was their union and prudence, that they concealed ii. above forty days the emperor's death, till the arrival of his fuccessor in the palace of Boursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts, the wifest Turks, and indeed Re-union the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, fo often torn afunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied with a confederate fleet, the streights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been fpeedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprife:

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Reign of Amurath A. D. 1421-1451, Feb. 9.

of the Ottoman empire, 1421.

⁷⁵ The virtues of Ibrahim are praifed by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the fultan (Cantemir, p. 76.).

LXV.

CHAP. they enjoyed the present respite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese 76, which had been planted at Phocæa 77 on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum 78; and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was fecured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook with feven flout gallies to transport him from Asia to Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship; which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute.

> 76 See Pachymer (l. v. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.), Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.), and Ducas (c. 25.). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that reforted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (1772 no); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

> 77 For the spirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, confult the 1st book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator,

M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299.).

78 Phooæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hiff. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the second the isle of Melos, whose alum mines are described by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the loss of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1459, found that useful mineral in the isle of Ischia (Ismael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

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They landed in fight of Mustapha and Gallipoli; CHAP. two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople; and this venal fervice was foon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the re- State of quest, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians 79. But a Musulman, who carried into Georgia the fword of perfecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not difposed to pity or succour the idolaters of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition: and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the fad catastrophe. On a fudden he was aftonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel so im-

the Greek empire, A. D. 1402-1425.

⁷⁹ The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 349, 350. octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, &c. and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, vifits, admires, and refuses the city of Constantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of hiftory: yet his pleafing fictions are more excufable than the groß errors of Cantemir.

⁸⁰ For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. fee the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70-95.), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is ftill fuperior to his rivals.

LXV.

CHAP. mediately failed from Modon in the Morea; ascended the throne of Constantinople; and difmissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the ifle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the fon of Bajazet were foon introduced to his presence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest; they were awed by the just apprehenfion, lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman faluted the emperor by the name of father; folicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promifed to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Moufa: the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulfed by fea and land; and unless the city was guarded by fome foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to affift the most formidable of the fons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the fultan and his troops were transported over the Bofphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his fuccefsful fally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror; he faithfully discharged his own obligations

obligations and those of Soliman, respected the CHAP. laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger fons, in the vain hope of faving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion: and the divan unanimoufly pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal, the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the prefumption of his fon John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by difmissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers 81. At the door of his prison. Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no fooner was he feated on the throne of Romania, than he difmiffed the Greek ambaffadors with a fmile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the furrender of a Musulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he had fustained,

and

⁸¹ The Turkish asper (from the Greek aspect) is, or was, a piece of white or silver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at least, of a Venetian ducat or sequin; and the 300,000 aspers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500l. sterling (Leunclay, Pandect. Turc. p. 406—408.).

LXV.

Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II. A. D. 1422, June 10-August 24.

C H A P. and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the enfuing fpring, by the fiege of Constantinople 82.

- The religious merit of fubduing the city of the Cæsars, attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promife of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the fultan's ambition was confecrated by the prefence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet as, who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic couldblush, at the failure of his affurances. The strength of the walls refisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the fallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old refources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage 84. After a fiege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Bourfa by a domestic revolt,

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⁸² For the fiege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188-199.).

⁸³ Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who deferibes Seid Bechar without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet assumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the fairest of the Greek nuns were promifed to the faint and his disciples.

⁸⁴ For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Mufulman faint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and CHAP. was foon extinguished by the death of a guiltless, brother. While he led his Janizaries to new The emconquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine John Paempire was indulged in a fervile and precarious I. respite of thirty years. Manuel sunk into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to July 21reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all October that he held beyond the fuburbs of Constantinople.

In the establishment and restoration of the Heredita-Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be ry succesaffigned to the personal qualities of the fultans; merit of fince, in human life, the most important scenes mans. will depend on the character of a fingle actor. By fome shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be discriminated from each other; but, except in a fingle instance, a period of nine reigns and two hundred and fixty-five years, is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare feries of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the flothful luxury of the feraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were entrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themfelves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or fuccessors of the apostle of God; and the kindred

the Otto-

LXV.

CHAP, kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis, appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth 85. Their origin is obscure; but their facted and indefeasible right, which no time can erafe and no violence can infringe, was foon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their fubjects. A weak or vicious fultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an ideot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful fovereign 86. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually fubverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman fuccession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

Education and difcipline of the Turks.

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To the spirit and constitution of that nation, a ftrong and fingular influence may however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are fill covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was

\$5 See Rycaut (l. i. c. 13.). The Turkish fultans affume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman coufins.

diffolved

⁸⁶ The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was flain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382), prefumed to fay, that all the fuccessors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marsigli Stato Militare, &c. p. 28.). This political heretic was a good whig, and justified against the French ambassador the revolution of England (Mignot, Hift. Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434.). His prefumption condemns the fingular exception of continuing offices in the fame family.

dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished CHAP. fubjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Mostems, the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a fervile class, an artificial people, was raifed by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command 17. From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the fultans were perfuaded that a government of the fword must be renewed in each generation with new foldiers; and that fuch foldiers must be fought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual feminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and main-

tained.

⁸⁷ Chalcondyles (1. v.) and Ducas (c. 23.) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.

CHAP. tained, for the public fervice. According to the promife of their appearance, they were felected for the royal schools of Bourfa, Pera, and Adrianople, entrusted to the care of the bashaws, or dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian peasantry. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in the Turkish language: their bodies were exercifed by every labour that could fortify their strength; they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and feverely trained in the military or monastic discipline of the order. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of Agiamoglans, or the more liberal rank of Ichoglans, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the person of the prince. In four fuccessive schools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darting the javelin were their daily exercife, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in feniority and merit, they were gradually difmissed to military, civil, and even ecclefiastical employments: the longer their stay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who stood before the fultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire.

empire 88. Such a mode of institution was admira- C HAP. bly adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the feraglio, and fuffered their beards to grow as the fymbol of enfranchisement, they found themselves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raifed them from the dust. and which, on the flightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb 89. In the flow and painful steps of education, their characters and talents were unfolded to a discerning eye: the man, naked and alone, was reduced to the standard of his personal merit; and, if the fovereign had wisdom to chuse, he possessed a pure and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abstinence to those of action; by the habits of sub-

mission to those of command. A similar spirit was diffused among the troops; and their filence and fobriety, their patience and modesty, have

extorted

³⁸ This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline, is chiefly borrowed from Ricaut's State of the Ottoman empire, the Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marfigli (in Haya, 1732, in folio), and a Description of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Greaves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

⁸⁹ From the feries of cxv vizirs till the fiege of Vienna (Marfigli p. 13.), their place may be valued at three years and a half pur-

CHAP. extorted the reluctant praise of their Christian enemies 90. Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the discipline and exercise of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and diforder, which fo long contaminated the armies of Europe.

Invention and use of gunpowder.

The only hope of falvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms, would have been fome more powerful weapon, fome discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decifive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; fuch a discovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chymists of China or Europe had found, by casual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of faltpetre, fulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a fpark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was foon observed, that if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irrefiftible and destructive velocity. The precise æra of the invention and application of gunpowder 91 is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly difcern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the fame, the use of artillery in battles and fieges, by fea and land, was familiar

90 See the entertaining and judicious letters of Busbequius.

or The ist and iid volumes of Dr. Watson's Chemical Esfays, contain two valuable discourses on the discovery and composition of gunpowder.

to the states of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, CHAR. and England 92. The priority of nations is of fmall account; none could derive any exclusive benefit from their previous or fuperior knowledge: and in the common improvement they flood on the fame level of relative power and military science. Nor was it possible to circumscribe the fecret within the pale of the church; it was difclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates and the felfish policy of rivals; and the fultans had fense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the fiege of Constantinople 93. The first attempt was indeed unsuccessful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on their side, who were most commonly the affailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was fuspended; and this thundering

92 On this subject, modern testimonies cannot be trusted. The original passages are collected by Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. Bombarda.). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, sound, sire, and effect, that seem to express our artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek sire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.), must be weighed against the silence of Froissard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. ii. Dissert. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a decisive passage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriusque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terrestrial thunder, nuper rara, nunc communis.

93 The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) first introduces before Belgrade (A. D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. v. p. 123.) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.

artillery

C H A P. artillery was pointed against the walls and towers which had been erected only to refift the 'less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the fultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was foon propagated to the extremities of Afia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

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CHAP. LXVI.

Applications of the Eastern Emperors to the Popes .-Visits to the West, of John the First, Manuel, and John the Second, Palaologus .- Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, promoted by the Council of Bafil, and concluded at Ferrara and Florence.-State of Literature at Constantinople. - Its revival in Italy by the Greek Fugilives .- Curiofity and Emulation of the Latins.

IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors, their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins, may be observed as the thermometer Embassy of their prosperity or distress; as the scale of the rife and fall of the Barbarian dynasties. When the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia and threatened Constantinople, we have feen at the council of Placentia, the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius, imploring the protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the fultan from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes refumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the West, which precipitated the first downfal of their empire. date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the foft and charitable language of John Vataces. After the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the Vol. XII.

CHAP. LXVI. of the younger Andronicus to pope Benedi it XII. A. D. 1339.

C HAA P. first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies: as long as the fword of Charles was fuspended over his head, he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and facrificed to the present danger, his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael, the prince and people afferted the independence of the church and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his last distress, pride was the fafeguard of superstition, nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandfon, the younger Andronicus, was less a flave in his temper and fituation; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks, admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the western princes. After a feparation and filence of fifty years, a fecret agent, the monk Barlaam, was dispatched to pope Benedict the twelfth; and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the great domestic'. " Most holy father," was he commissioned to fay, " the emperor is not less " defirous than yourfelf of an union between the " two churches: but in this delicate transaction, " he is obliged to respect his own dignity and "the prejudices of his fubjects. The ways of

The arguments for a crufade and union.

> This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his continuation of the Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646-1677, in x volumes in folio). I have contented myself with the abbé Flenry (Hift. Ecclefiastique, tom. xx. p. 1-8.), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

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" union are two-fold; force, and perfuafion. Of CHAP " force, the inefficacy has been already tried; " fince the Latins have subdued the empire, with-" out subduing the minds, of the Greeks. The " method of perfuasion, though flow, is fure and " permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of " our doctors would probably agree with those of " the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of " belief: but on their return, what would be the " use, the recompense of such agreement? the " forn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a " blind and obstinate nation. Yet that nation is " accustomed to reverence the general councils, " which have fixed the articles of our faith; and " if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is be-" cause the Eastern churches were neither heard "nor represented in that arbitrary meeting. For " this falutary end, it will be expedient, and even " necessary, that a well-chosen legate should be " fent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of "Conftantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Je-" rufalem; and, with their aid, to prepare a free " and univerfal fynod. But at this moment," continued the fubtle agent, " the empire is affault-" ed and endangered by the Turks, who have " occupied four of the greatest cities of Anatolia. " The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish " of returning to their allegiance and religion; " but the forces and revenues of the emperor are infufficient for their deliverance: and the Ro-" man legate must be accompanied, or preceded, " by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and " open a way to the holy sepulchre." If the **fuspicious**

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CHAP. fuspicious Latins should require some pledge, some previous effect of the fincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational. " 1. A general fynod can alone confummate the " union of the churches; nor can fuch a fynod " be held till the three Oriental patriarchs, and a " great number of bishops, are enfranchised from "the Mahometan yoke. 2. The Greeks are " alienated by a long feries of oppression and in-" jury: they must be reconciled by some act of " brotherly love, some effectual succour, which " may fortify the authority and arguments, of the " emperor, and the friends of the union. 3. If " fome difference of faith or ceremonies should " be found incurable, the Greeks however are " the disciples of Christ; and the Turks are the " common enemies of the Christian name. " Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians, are equally " attacked; and it will become the piety of the "French princes to draw their fwords in the ge-" neral defence of religion. 4. Should the fub-" jects of Andronicus be treated as the worst of " schismatics, of heretics, of pagans, a judicious " policy may yet instruct the powers of the West " to embrace an ufeful ally, to uphold a finking " empire, to guard the confines of Europe; and " rather to join the Greeks against the Turks, than " to expect the union of the Turkish arms with the "troops and treasures of captive Greece." The reasons, the offers, and the demands, of Andronicus, were eluded with cold and stately indifference. The kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crusade: the pope refused

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to call a new fynod to determine old articles of CHAP. faith: and his regard for the obsolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy, engaged him to use an offensive superscription: "To the mode-" rator of the Greeks, and the perfons who " style themselves the patriarchs of the Eastern " churches." For fuch an embaffy, a time and character less propitious could not easily have been found. Benedict the twelfth was a dull peafant, perplexed with fcruples, and immerfed in floth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus, while the Negocia-Greeks were distracted by intestine war, they tion of could not prefume to agitate a general union of zene with the Christians. But as soon as Cantacuzene had Clement fubdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Musulman prince.

The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and moderator, as fynonymous to rector, gubernator, is a word of classical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Gloffary of Ducange, but in the Thefaurus of Robert Stephens.

3 The first Epistle (fine titulo) of Petrarch, exposes the danger of the bark, and the incapacity of the pilot. Hæc inter, vino madidus, avo gravis ac foporifero rore perfusus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam fomno præceps, atque (utinam folus) ruit Heu quanto felicius patrio terram fulcasset aratro, quam scalmum piscatorium ascendisset. This satire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII. which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papifts and Protestants (fee Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 259. ii. not. xv. p. 13-16.). He gave occasion to the faying, Bibamus papa-

CHAP. Two officers of state, with a Latin interpreter, were fent in his name to the Roman court, which was transplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhone, during a period of seventy years: they represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the mifcreants, and pronounced by his command the fpecious and edifying founds of union and crufade. Pope Clement the fixth , the fuccessor of Benedict, received them with hospitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their fovereign, excused his diffress, applauded his magnanimity, and displayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the empress Anne's. If Clement was ill-endowed with the virtues of a priest, he possessed however the spirit and magnificence of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign, Avignon was the feat of pomp and pleasure: in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope, was adorned, or pollut-

⁴ See the original lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 550-589.). Matteo Villani (Chron. l. iii. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 186.), who styles him, molto cavallaresco, poco reliogoso; Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 126.), and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 42-45.). The abbé de Sade treats him with the most indulgence; but be is a gentleman as well as a prieft.

³ Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied, and alone remained with her miftrefs at Conftantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeness, deserved the praises of the Greeks themselves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42.).

ed, by the visits of his female favourites. The CHAP. wars of France and England were adverfe to the holy enterprise; but his vanity was amused by the fplendid idea; and the Greek ambaffadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence: and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praises and promifes, by which both parties were amufed, and neither could be deceived. " I am delighted," faid the devout Cantacuzene, " with the project " of our holy war, which must redound to my " personal glory, as well as to the public benefit " of Christendom. My dominions will give a " free passage to the armies of France: my troops, " my gallies, my treasures, shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be " my fate, could I deferve and obtain the crown " of martyrdom. Words are infufficient to ex-" press the ardour with which I sigh for the re-" union of the scattered members of Christ. " my death could avail, I would gladly prefent " my fword and my neck: if the spiritual phœnix " could arise from my ashes, I would erect the of pile and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor prefumed to observe, that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins; he disclaimed the fervile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus; and firmly declared, that he would never fubmit his conscience, unless to the decrees of a free and univerfal

CHAP, universal fynod, "The situation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and my-" felf to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; " but some maritime city may be chosen on the " verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, " and to instruct the faithful, of the East and "West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were foon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloifter; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state .

Treaty of John Palæologus I. with Inno-cent VI. A. D. 1355.

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship; but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion; she had formed the infancy of her fon, and she governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the fize of man. first year of his deliverance and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the fon of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himfelf

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⁶ See this whole negociation in Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 9.), who, amidit the praises and virtues which he bestows on himself, reveals the uneafiness of a guilty conscience. Aviacon Relevandor model

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nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and CHAP. in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of flavery, fubscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the golden bull, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the fixth and his fucceffors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promifes to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their refidence and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his fecond fon Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions, he requires a prompt fuccour of fifteen gallies, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to ferve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and. people the same spiritual voke; but as the refistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to. distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiaftics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of perfuafion or force, Palæologus declares himfelf

unworthy

^{&#}x27;7 See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hift. Ecclef. p. 151-154.), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

CHAP.

unworthy to reign; transferred to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his fon and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman gallies were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy, that their sovereign escaped the dishonour, of this fruitless humiliation.

Vifit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome, A. D. 1369, October 23, &c.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was inclosed in his capital, the valial of the haughty Amurath, with the miferable hope of being the last devoured by the favage. In this abject flate, Palæologus embraced the refolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope; he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever vifited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could feek confolation or relief; and with lefs violation of his dignity he might appear in the facred college than at the Ottoman Porte. After a long absence, the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tyber; Urban the fifth s, of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the fame year,

enjoyed

See the two first original lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623. 635.), and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573. A. D. 1369, No. 7.) and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 223, 224.). Yet, from some variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genusiexions of Paletologus.

enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the CHAP. two Imperial shadows, who represented the maiefty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople. whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty founds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed: and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true catholic, the fupremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter: Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne: the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kiffed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a fumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West'; nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chaunting the gospel in the rank of a deacon 10. In favour of his profelyte, Urban

9 Paullo minus quam fi fuiffet Imperator Romanorum. Yet his title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer disputed (Vit.

Urban V. p. 623.).

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¹⁰ It was confined to the fuccessors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas day. On all other festivals, these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he faid mass, with the book and the corporal. Yet the abbé de Sade generously thinks, that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him. though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He feems to affix a just value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 735.).

CHAP. Strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king. and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood", or Acuto, who with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; fold his fervices to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by fhooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negociate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise; and it was for the advantage perhaps of Palæologus to be disappointed of a succour, that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous "2. The disconsolate Greek 13 prepared for his return,

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¹¹ Through fome Italian corruptions, the etymology of Falcone in bosco (Matteo Villani, I. xi. c. 79. in Muratori, tom. xv. p. 746.), fuggelts the English word Hawkwood, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walfingham, Hift. Anglican. inter Scriptores, Cambdeni, p. 184.). After two-and-twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1394, General of the Florentines, and was buried with fuch honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 212-371.).

^{12.} This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Bretigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali, tom. xii. p. 197.) is rather true than civil. "Ci mancava ancor questo, che dopo essere calpestrata "l'Italia da tanti masnadieri Tedeschi ed Ungheri, venissero sin " dall' Inghliterra nuovi cani a finire di divorarla."

¹³ Chalcondyles, l. i. p. 25, 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently resuted by the filence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe, that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene confolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

but even his return was impeded by a most CHAP. ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large fums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best fecurity for the payment. His eldest fon Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhault every resource; and, even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and difgrace. But the unnatural youth was infensible of the difgrace, and fecretly pleafed with the captivity of the emperor; the state was poor, the clergy was obstinate; nor could fome religious fcruple be wanting to excufe the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was feverely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly fold or mortgaged all that he poffeffed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his His return return to Constantinople, the parent and king to Condistinguished his two sons with suitable rewards: ple, but the faith and manners of the flothful Palæologus, had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apoltacy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily

forgotten by the Greeks and Latins 14. Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, Visit of his fon and fuccessor, Manuel, from a similar the emmotive, but on a larger scale, again visited the Manuel

to Con-1370.

14 His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25. 1373 (Ducange, Fam. By zant. p. 241.), leaves fome intermediate æra for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

countries

CHAP. countries of the West. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the fiege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French fuccour under the command of the gallant Boucicault ". By his ambaffadors, Manuel had folicited the Latin powers: but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest Barbarians 16; and the marshal who advised the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was fafe and open: Italy received him as the first, or, at least, as the second of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from finking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia: and even the duke of Milan, a fecret ally of Bajazet, gave him fafe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions 17. On the confines of France 18, the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expences; and two

to the court of France, A. D. 1400, June 3;

15 Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 35, 36.

16 His journey into the west of Europe, is slightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcondyles (l. ii. c. 44-50.) and Ducas (c. 14.).

17 Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attefted by Froiffard; and he contributed to fave and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

18 For the reception of Manuel at Paris, fee Spondanus (Annal. Eccles. tom. i. p. 676, 677. A. D. 1400, No 5), who quotes Juvenal des Urfins, and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (Hift, de France, tom. xii. p. 331-334-), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on CHAP horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was faluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the fixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. fuccessor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white filk, and mounted on a milk-white steed; a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of fingular importance: the white colour is confidered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a fuccession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chace, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence and amuse his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were aftonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the flightest glance on the flate of the kingdom, must teach him to despair of any effectual affiftance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapfed into furious or stupid infanity: the reins of government were alternately feized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, diffolved in luxury and love:

CHAP. love: the latter was the father of John count of

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to Chapter

SCAL

Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless ion was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had fattated the curiofity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Austin; and, on Blackheath, king Henry the fourth, with the English court, faluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East . But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the fame year, the hereditary fovereign had been deposed and murdered; the reigning prince was a fuccessful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealoufy and remorfe: nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by confpiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praifed, he feasted, the emperor of Constantinople; but if the English monarch assumed the cross, it was

of England,
A. D.
1400,
December.

19 A short note of Manuel in England, is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (de Græcis illustribus, p. 14.), C. P. Imperator, diu variisque et horrendis Paganorum insultibus coartatus, ut pro eisdem resistentiam triumphalem perquireret Anglorum Regem visitare decrevit, &c. Rex (says Walfingham, p. 364.) nobili apparatú.... suscept (ut decuit) tantum Heroalduxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit glóriose, pro expensis hospitis sus solvens, et eum respiciens tanto fastigio donativis. He repeats the same in his Upodigma Neustriæ, p. 556.).

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only to appeale his people, and perhaps his con- CHAP. fcience, by the merit or femblance of this pious intention 20. Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private fale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism: the kings, the nations, the universities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor. anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he paffed through Italy without defiring, or deferving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the fins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic 21.

His return to Greece, A. D.

During the period of the crusades, the Greeks Greek beheld with aftonishment and terror the perpetual ledge and

20 Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

21 This fact is preserved in the Historia Politica, A. D. 1391-1478, published by Martin Crusius (Turco Græcia, p. 1-43.). The image of Christ, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.

Vol. XII. Gream

C H A P. LXVI. descriptions

stream of emigration that flowed, and continued. to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer prefumed to brand with the name of Barbarians. The observations of Manuel, and his more inquifitive followers, have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times 22; his scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to our minds. I. GERMANY (fays the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the river Tartesfus, and the Pyrenæan mountains 23. The foil, except in figs and olives, is fufficiently fruitful; the air is falubrious; the bodies of the natives are

of Germany;

The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions, the modest historian has never introduced hintself; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 474.), seems ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see 1. ii. p. 36, 37, 44—50.

dyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed, and mistook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33.), whose text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.), or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any

of their leffer geographers?

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tobult and healthy; and these cold regions are CHAP. feldom vifited with the calamities of peltilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations; they are brave and patient, and were they united under a fingle head, their force would be irrefillible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of chusing the Roman emperor , nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strafburgh, Cologne, Hamburgh, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by fage and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The use of duels, or fingle combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their industry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The kingdom of FRANCE is of France; fpread above fifteen or twenty days journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean; containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king. which furpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his

²⁴ A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome furvived, would have scorned to dignify the German Pot with the titles of Basiling, or Automparage Populator: but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcondyles; and he describes the Byzantine prince, and his jubject, by the proper, though humble names of Exames, and Baccheus Bhanyon.

CHAP.

palace, and acknowledge him as their fovereign; the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter poffesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own and the more remote feas. The French are an ancient and opulent people: and their language and manners, though fomewhat different, are not diffimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland 35; they esteem themselves the first of the western nations: but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British island. III. BRITAIN, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one, or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the fame manners, and by a fimilar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand stadia: the land is overspread with towns and villages: though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populoufthey are lent and borrowed without thane;

of England.

MICECE.

²⁵ Most of the old romances were translated in the xivth century into French profe, and foon became the favourite amusement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI, If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may furely be excused; since the monks of St. Denys, the national historians, have inferted the fables of archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France and increase has sometimes and magnitude; and her gradual increase has sometimes and her gradual increase has sometimes and her gradual increase has been applied to the control of sigh the general improvement of Europe.

ness and power, in riches and luxury, London 16, CHAP. the metropolis of the ifle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the distance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea: and the daily flow and ebb of the tide, affords a fafe entrance and departure to the veffels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy; his principal vasfals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic fedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their fwords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decifive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent; in the habits of domestic life; they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France; but the most fingular circumstance of their manners is their difregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the illanders offended at this strange comtary into fronch probate from became the favourite arm

garwy modews, od 800 to nat th addn endathoria edelicae two moor bomeous As: nousew. Even fince the time of Fitzstephen (the xiith century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increase has, at least, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

C H A P. merce, and its inevitable consequences 27. Informed as we are of the customs of old England. and affured of the virtue of our mothers, we may finile at the credulity, or refent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest falute 28 with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man 29.

Indifference of Manuel towards the Latins, A. D. 1402-1417.

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was fatisfied with the national religion; and his leifure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance 30 announces the restoration of the

27 If the double fense of the verb Kow (ofculor, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 49.).

48 Eratinus (Epift. Fausto Andrelino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

29 Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæfar and Dion (Dion Caffins, I. Ixii. tom. ii. p. 1007.), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The Arreog of Otaheite, fo certain at first, is become less visible and scandalous, in proportion as we have fludied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

19 See Lenfant, Hift du Concile de Conftance, tom. ii. p. 536; and for the ecclefiaftical history of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliotheque of Dupin, tom. xii, and xxist and xxiii volumes of the History, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury. historand voluntary reward of the third.

Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church; CHAP. the conquest of the fultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the fiege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghoft. When Martin the fifth afcended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West, Ambition on one fide, and diffress on the other, dictated the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his fix sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, dispatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to foften by their charms the obstinacy of the schifmatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and infincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the viciffitudes of danger and repofe, the emperor advanced or retreated; afternately instructed and disavowed his ministers: and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of enquiry, the obligation of collecting the fense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital From a review of the public transactions it will appear, that the Greeks infifted on three fuccessive measures, a succour, a council, and a final re-union, while the Latins eluded the fecond, and only promifed the first, as a confequential and voluntary reward of the third. But

His negociations, A. D. 1425.

C H A P. LXVI. His private motives.

we have an opportunity of unfolding the most fecret intentions of Manuel as he explained them in a private convertation without artifice or difguife. In his declining age, the emperor had affociated John Palæologus, the fecond of the name, and the eldeft of his fons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza 31, his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and fuccessor the true principle of his negociations with the pope . "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our " union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief and " for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger " before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an affembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. STREET COLOR

ployed in the service of the state and palace; and Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the strongest terms to his successor: Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui ministravit mihi sideliter et diligenter (Phranzes, l. ii.c., r.). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Peloponnesus.

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See Phranzes, I. ii. c. 13. While fo many manufcripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Escurial, &c. it is a matter of shame and reproach, that we should be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, of James Pontanus (ad calcem Theophylact Simocattæ; Ingolitadt, 1664), so deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric, Bibliot. Grac. tom, vi. p. 615—620.).

"The Latins are proud; the Greeks are ob- CHAP. " ftinate neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm " the schism, alienate the churches, and leave " us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of " the Barbarians." Impatient of this falutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in filence; and the wife monarch (continues Phranza), casting his eyes on me, thus refumed his discourse: " My son deems himself " a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our " miferable age does not afford scope for heroism " or greatness. His daring spirit might have " fuited the happier times of our ancestors; but " the present state requires not an emperor, but " a cautious steward of the last relics of our " fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty ex-" pectations which he built on our alliance with "Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash " courage will urge the ruin of our house, and " that even religion may precipitate our down-. Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preferved the peace and eluded the coun- . cil; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and His death, in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his fayourite fervants. Of his fix fons 33, Andronicus the fecond was invested with the principality of Theffalonica, and died of a leprofy foon after the fale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents so deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric Bibliot Grac

CHAP. had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of fix miles 34 with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans: the fertile peninsula might have been fufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas: but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength; and the least fuccessful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace bus qubits out att

Zeal of John Palæologus 11. A D. 1425-1437-

The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the fecond, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the fole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm affurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloifter, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus was over a Jew 35, whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to tours of Rome: the

34 The exact measure of the Hexamilion, from fea to fea, was 3800 orgygiæ, or toifes, of fix Greek feet (Phranzes, l. i. c. 38.), which would produce a Greek mile, still smaller than that of 660 French toiles, which is affigned by d'Anville as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the Ishmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

35 The first objection of the Jews, is on the death of Christ: if it were voluntary, Christ was a fuicide; which the emperor parrics with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the virgin, the fense of the prophecies, &c. (Phranzes, I. ii. C. 12. a whole chapter).

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the Christian faith; and this momentous con- CHAP. quest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he foon refumed the defign of uniting the East and West; and, regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should feem with sincerity. to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the fifth, and coldly entertained by his fuccessor Eugenius, till. after a tedious negociation, the emperor received a fummons from a Latin affembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church always acre described and ange

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered Corrup in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the Latin victorious dergy were foon exposed to the tyranny church. of their deliverer; and his facred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found fo keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants. and superseded by previous and arbitrary refervations 36. A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the

36 In the treatife delle Materie Beneficiarie of Fra-Paolo (in the inth volume of the last and best edition of his works), the papal lystem is seeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a falutary warning.

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CHAP, heads of aliens and absentees. During their refidence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes fubfided in the meaner passions of avarice 37 and luxury: they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, diforder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious fituation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy, of the church, the fynods of Pifa and Constance 38 were successively convened; but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiss, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged fovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman fupremacy; nor did they feparate till

Schism, A.D. 1377-I429.

Council of Pifa, A. D. of Conflance, A. D. 1414-1418.

> 37 Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of feven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whose brother received the account from the papal treasurers. A treasure of fix or eight millions sterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almost incredible. I want state also astoop was book aste

> 38 A learned and liberal protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pifa, Constance, and Basil, in six volumes in quarto: but the last part is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

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they had established the authority, above the CHAP. pope, of a general council. It was enacted. that, for the government and reformation of the church, fuch affemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each fynod, before its diffolution, should appoint the time and place of the fubfequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was eafily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Bafil 39 had almost of Bafil, been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the fourth. A fust suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to haften the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the churchmilitant on earth were invested with a divine and fpiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting withe pope; and that a general council could not be diffolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and confent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to fummon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious successor of St. Peter. After Their many delays, to allow time for repentance, they to Eugefinally declared, that, unless he submitted within nius IV. the term of fixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical

A. D. 1431-1443-

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⁽I xi. c. ac. in Murabri's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whoir. 39 The original acts or minutes of the council of Bafil, are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil, was a free city, conveniently fituate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swifs. In A459, the university was founded by pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius). who had been fecretary to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the presses of Froben and the Audies of Erasmus to

CHAP. authority. And to mark their jurifdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the facred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom; the emperor Sigifmond declared himfelf the fervant and protector of the fynod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an infurrection of the Roman people. Re. jected at the fame time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and feemed to refign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East; and it was in their presence that Sigismond received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan 40, who laid at his feet twelve large vales, filled with robes of filk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Bafil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an affembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. Palæologus was not averse to on republic of Florence I held gold pieces, the net that were

Negociawith the Greeks, A. D. 1434-3437·

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⁴⁰ This Turkish embassy, attested only by Crantzius, is related with fome doubt by the annalist Spondanus, A. D. 1433, Nº 25, tom. i. p. 824.

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the proposal; and his ambassadors were introdu- CHAP. ced with due honours into the Catholic fenate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an infuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps, or the fea of Sicily, and positively required that the fynod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily stipulated: it was agreed to defray the travelling expences of the emperor, with a train of feven hundred persons **, to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats 42 for the accommodation' of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a fupply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers and fome gallies, for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expences: and the embarkation was prepared at Marfeilles with some difficulty and delay.

In his distress, the friendship of Palæologus was disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the embarks West; but the dextrous activity of a monarch prevailed over the flow debates and inflexible gallies, temper of a republic. The decrees of Basil continually tended to circumfcribe the despotism of Nov. 24.

in the pope's

41 Syropulus, p. 19. In this lift, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclesiarch. The 75,000 florins which they asked in this negociation of the pope (p. 9.), were more than they could hope or want.

42 I use indifferently the words, ducat and florin, which derive their names, the former from the dukes of Milan, the latter from the republic of Florence. These gold pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one-third of the English guinea.

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CHAP. the pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious fynod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps: Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as situate far beyond the pillars of Hercules 43; the emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by an haughty declaration, that after suppressing the new herefy of the Bohemians, the council would foon eradicate the old herefy of the Greeks 44. On the fide of Eugenius, all was smooth, and yielding, and respectful: and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Eastern, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview; and with some indulgence of forgery and theft, a furreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the fynod, with its own confent, to that Italian city. Nine gallies were equipped for this fervice at Venice, and in the

44 Syropulus (p. 26-31.) attests his own indignation, and that of his countrymen: and the Basil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the

council.

⁴³ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epiftle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps: oablies (fays he) or nas Tur mera or ourodor εξω των Ήρακλειων επλων και περα Γαδηρων εξαξυσι. Was Constantinople unprovided with a map?

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is of Candia; their diligence anticipated the CHAP. flower veffels of Bafil: the Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, fink, and destroy 45; and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the fame feas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the preeminence of glory. Affaulted by the importunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory: and reason must suggest, that since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigitimond diffuaded the unfeafonable adventure; his advice was impartial, fince he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the strange belief, that the German Cæfar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West .*. Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unfafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with feeming magnanimity,

45 Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared, τι δρισμον εχει ωαρά τη Παπά τια ωθεμηση όπη αν ευτη τα καθεία της Συν δη, και ει δυνηθη καθαδό ση και αφανίση. The naval orders of the fynod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

46 Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palzologus (p. 36), and the last advice of Sigismond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it fooner he would have returned home (p. 79.).

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CHAP. that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate, in the absence of her sovereign 47. The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most fplendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and diffress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman gallies. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more fusceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the fea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin fynod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering affurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the fecret wish of learning from his brother of the West, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings 48. The five crossbearers or dignitaries of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclefiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus 49, has composed

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⁴⁷ Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13.). Utinam ne synodus ista unquam fuisset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125. 219.), but he never attacked the city.

⁴⁸ The reader will fmile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourites: τοιαυτην ωληροφοριαν σχησειν ελπίζε και δια τε Παπα εθαρχει ελευθερωσαι την εκκλησιαν απο της αποτεθεισης αυθε δελειας ταρα τε βασιλεώς (p. 92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practifed the lessons of Gregory VII.

⁴⁹ The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, webec, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words: nor can any reasoning of Creyghton, the editor, excuse

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composed so a free and curious history of the falle CHAP. union 51. Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the furmons of the emperor and the patriarch, fubmission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephefus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church: and the service of the choir was performed by a felect band of fingers and mulicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerufalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming fplendour; whatever gold

excuse his changing into Sguropulus (Sguros, fuscus) the Syropulus of his own manufcript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

50 From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the fynod, when the great ecclefiarch had abdicated his office (fectio xii. p. 330-350.). His passions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

51 Vera bistoria unionis non veræ inter Græces et Latinos (Hagee Comitis, 1660, in folio), was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style: but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

CHAP.

the emperor could procure, was expended in the massy ornaments of his bed and chariot 52: and while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune; they quarrelled for the division of sisteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiss. After the necessary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and oars, which steered through the Turkish streights of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf 53.

His triumphal entry at Venice, A. D. 1438, February 9; After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honours from his subjects as were paid to his seeble successor by an independent state. Seated on the poop, on a losty throne, he received the visit, or, in the Greek style, the adoration, of the doge and senators 54. They sailed in the Bucentaur, which

52 Syropulus (p. 63.) simply expresses his intention: in ετω πομπαων εν Ιταλοις μείας βασιλευς πας εκεινων νομιζοίλο; and the Latin of Creyghton may afford a specimen of his storid paraphrase. Ut pompâ circumductus noster Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Crœsus ex opulenta Lydia.

53 Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe, that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth section (p. 67—100.), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

54 At the time of the fynod, Phranzes was in Peloponnesus; but he received from the despot Demetrius, a faithful account of

which was accompanied by twelve ftately gallies: CHAP. the fea was overspread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleasure; the air resounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the veffels, were dreffed in filk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, paffed under the bridge of the Rialto; and the eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city that feems to float on the bosom of the waves 55. They fighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the fack of Constantinople. After an hofpitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara: and on this occasion, the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the East. He made his entry on a black horse; but into Fera milk-white steed, whose trappings were em- ruary 28. broidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a fovereign

the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux fedentem Imperatorem adorat), which are more flightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

55 The aftonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambaffador (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. vii. c. 18.) at the fight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xvth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Syropulus (p. 87.).

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CHAP. more powerful than himself 36. Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused his proffered genuslexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a feat on his left-hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galley, till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was faluted by his brother with a kifs of union and charity: nor would any of the Greek ecclefiaftics fubmit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the fynod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclefiaftical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not affisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left fides of the church should be occupied by the two nations: that the folitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West 37.

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⁵⁶ Nicholas III. of Este, reigned forty-eight years (A. D. 1393-1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his life in Muratori (Antichità Estense, tom. ii. p. 159-201.).

⁵⁷ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor diftinguished except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (Hody

But as foon as festivity and form had given CHAP. place to a more ferious treaty, the Greeks were diffatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emiffaries had painted him in a prosperous state; 'at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient, at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal fynod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins 8opened the first fession with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the confent of the Latins some temporal, reward for an unpopular union: and, after the first feffion, the public proceedings were adjourned above fix months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and Janizaries, fixed his fummer refidence at a pleafant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chace, the diffress of the church and ftate; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or

LXVI. Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence, A. D. 1438, October A. D. 1439.

July 6.

de Græcis Illustribus, p. 31.). Yet another spectator confesses, that the Greek fashion was piu grave e piu degna than the Italian (Vespafiano, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).

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CHAP. the husbandman 58. In the mean while, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was affigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire fum did not amount to feven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court 59. They fighed for a speedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and fend back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople; excommunication, fines, and a fentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped 60. It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to

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⁵⁸ For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (p. 143, 144. 191.). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hacks: but he bought a ftrong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of Janizaries may furprife: but the name, rather than the inftitution, had paffed from the Ottoman, to the Byzantine, court; and is often used in the last age of the empire.

⁵⁹ The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of prowisions, money should be distributed, four florins per month to the perfons of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or despot Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105.). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at' the time of the union (p. 172. 225. 271.).

⁶⁰ Syropulus (p. 141, 142. 204. 221.) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

open the first conference; and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a slying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the sidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apen-

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Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the sathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the sisten, who was successively a duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a savourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation: the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops, and three hundred of the inserior clergy significant signifi

⁶¹ The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

⁶² Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary.

LXVI.

CHAP. Florence could produce the subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and fortyfive abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five fessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The fingle or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of cardinal Julian; and Mark of Ephefus and Bessarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing, that the first of these questions was now treated as an immaterial rite. which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the fecond, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial fins of the faithful; and whether their fouls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently fettled on the fpot by the difputants. The claims of fupremacy appeared of a more

> That extravagant number could not be supplied by all the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by all the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

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weighty and fubstantial kind; yet by the Orien- CHAP. tals the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the first of the five patriarchs; nor did they scruple to admit, that his jurisdiction should be exercifed agreeable to the holy canons; a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghoft from the father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had funk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the fessions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin edition of filioque was subdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference; but I must think that the Greeks were strongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, against adding any article whatsoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople 63. In earthly affairs, it is not easy to conceive how an affembly of legislators can bind their fuccessors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop, or a provincial synod, have prefumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine, the controversy was equal and endless: reason is confounded by the procession of a deity;

⁶³ The Greeks, who difliked the union, were unwilling to fally from this strong fortres (p. 178. 193. 195. 202. of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with filioque in the Nicene creed: a palpable forgery! (p. 173.)

CHAP.

the gospel, which lay on the altar, was filent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by fophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin faints 64. Of this at least we may be fure, that neither fide could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words; their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the fame founds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public difpute.

Negociations with the Greeks.

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negociation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first de-

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^{64 &#}x27;Ως είω (faid an eminent Greek) δίαν εις ναον εισελθω Λαθιναν 8 προσκυνω τινα των εκεισε άγιων, επει εδε γνωρίζω τιν: (Syropulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218. 252, 253. 273.).

bates, had stood forth the most strenuous and CHAP. eloquent champion of the Greek church; and if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country 65, he appears in ecclefiaftical flory a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general fituation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins: an espiscopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was foon exhaufted 66: the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and fuch was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe 67. The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious diffimulation; and it was infinuated, that the obstinate heretics who should refist the consent of the

65 See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257.), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

of For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponness, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127.).

⁶⁷ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283.); yet he relates some suspicious circumstances; and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas.

CHAP. East and West, would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff68. In the first private assembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members: but the five cross-bearers of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to fpeak their own fentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephefus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed 69. In the treaty between the two nations, feveral forms of confent were proposed, such as might fatisfy the Latins, without dishonouring the Greeks: and they weighed the féruples of words and fyllables, till the theological balance trembled with a flight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must intreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghost proceeds from

> 68 The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual flavery (Syropul. p. 196.): and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260.).

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⁶⁹ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protester; a favourite hound, who usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked most furiously while the act of union was reading, without being filenced by the foothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 265, 266.).

the Father and the Son, as from one principle and CHAP. one substance; that he proceeds by the Son, being of the fame nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father and the Son, by one spiration and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the pope should defray all the expences of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two gallies and three hundred foldiers for the defence of Constantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem, should be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope should furnish ten gallies for a year, or twenty for fix months; and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for landforces.

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The fame year, and almost the fame day, were Eugenius marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil; depose Basil, and, at Florence, by his re-union of the Greeks and Latins. In the former fynod (which he ftyled June 25. indeed an affembly of dæmons), the pope was branded with the guilt of fimony, perjury, tyranny, herefy, and fchifin 70; and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclefiaftical office. In the Re-union latter he was revered as the true and holy vicar of of the Greeks at Christ, who, after a separation of fix hundred Florence, years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East

deposed at

July 6.

⁷º From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His fituation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge.

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CHAP. and West, in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was fubicribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus ", had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not fatisfied, unless four authentic and fimilar transcripts were figned and attested as the monuments of his victory ibus One's memorable day, the fixth of July, the fucceffors of St. Peter and Constantine afcended their thrones; the two nations affembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, cardinal Julian and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chaunted with the addition of filiaque; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarti-

> 71 Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (p. 290-292.).

> 72 None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS, that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek fignatures. Yet feveral of these may be esteemed as anthentic copies, which were subscribed at Florence before (26th of August 1439) the final separation of the pope and emperor (Memoires de l'Academie des Infcriptions, as, Jacobites, &c. that I have teleste -78s quilly most with the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemainaus, 'a faltiful stave of

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culate, founds"; and the more ferupulous Latins CHAPO refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their confent a lit was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they fpared, and fecretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephe fus; and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refuled to elect his fuccessor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises: the Greeks, with less Their repomp and pride, returned by the fame road of contanti-Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter 14. The fuccess of the first trial rebruary encouraged Eugenius to repeat the fame edifying scenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians and the Æthiopians, were successively introduced, to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they prefumed to reprefent ", diffused over the West the fame of Euge-

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73 Hun de de arques edonus paras (Syropul. p. 297.).

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⁷⁴ In their return, the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambaffadors of England; and after some questions and answers, these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).

⁷⁵ So nugatory, or rather fo fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without fuccess, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemannus, a faithful flave of the Vatican.

CHAP. nius : and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the lassifunde of delpairs the council of Bafil was filently diffolyed; and Feeling rehounding the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille 16. A general peace was fecured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation habilded; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their edelefiaffical despotifin a nor has Rome been fince disturbed by the milbhiefs of a contested electhe language of the determinated the die nedge rolling

Final peace of the church; A. D. 3449.

State of the Greek language at Con-frantinople, A. D. 1300-4453.

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The journies of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their foiritual, falvation; but they were productive of a beneficial confequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest fervitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzan-

win to 1200 circ with other bear of the 76 Ripaille is fituate near Thonon in Savoy, on the fouthern fine of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthufian abbey; and Mr. Additon (Travels into Italy, vol. liep. 147, 148 of Balkerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Aneas Sylvins, and the fathers of Ball, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

77 In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence. I have confulted the original acts, which fill the wiith and xviiith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perfpicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccles, tom, xii), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverie parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

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State of the Greek

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tine throne were fill possessed of a golden key that CHAB could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a mafical and prolific language, that gives a foul to the objects of fenfe, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy. and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various Barbarians had doubtless cont rupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample gloffaries have been composed! to interpret a multitude of words of Arabica Turkith, Sclavonian, Latin, or French origin "! But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished? by a learned Italian 19, who, by a long refidence and noble marriage 30, was naturalized at Conflantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conqueft. "The vulgar speech," fays Phileli Halv, from whitesett we out commed to thelene

28 In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a fecond edition, he subjoined 1800 more 1 yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portlus, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandifts, &c. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.) Same Perfie words may be found in Xenophon, and fome Latin ones in Plutarch; and fuch is the inevitable effect of war and commerce : but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this flight alloy.

79 The life of Francis Philelphus, a fophift, proud, reftlefs, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 691-751.) and Tirabolchi (Iltoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282-294.). for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epifiles fill describe the men and the times.

80 He married, and had perhaps debanehed, the daughter of John, and the grand-daughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was alled to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Confrantinople.

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CHAP, phus 4, " has been depraved by the people, and " infected by the multitude of strangers and mer chants, who every day flock to the city and " mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the " disciples of such a school that the Latin lan-" guage received the versions of Aristotle and "Plato; fo obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the contagion, are those whom we follow; and they salone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar " discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristo. " phanes and Euripides, of the historians and phibosophers of Athens; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct. "The persons who, by their birth and offices, are attached to the Byzantine court, are those who " maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient flandard of elegance and purity; and the na-" tive graces of language most conspicuously shine " among the noble matrons, who are excluded " from all intercourse with foreigners. With " foreigners do I fay? They live retired and fea questered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. " Seldom are they feen in the streets; and when " they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of

⁸¹ Græci quibus lingua depravata non fit ita loquuntur vulgo hae etiam tempestate ut Aristophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes ut historiographi ut philosophi litterati autem homines et doctius et emendatius Nam viri aulici veterem fermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant in primisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres; quibus cum nullum effet omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum' fermo fervabatur intactus (Philelph. Epill. ad ann. 1451, apud Hodium, p. 188, 189.). He observes in another palfage, uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderata et fuavi et maxime Attica.

" evening, on visits to the churches and their CHAP. " nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are " on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or " their fervants "."

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion: their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priefts. by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion. the laziness, and the discord, of the church and cloyster, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the facred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclefiaftics prefided over the education of youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West 83. But an important distinction has been Comparialready noticed; the Greeks were stationary or Greeks retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a latine. rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emula-

32 Philelphus, abfurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental

er evening,

jealoufy from the manners of ancient Rome.

53 See the flate of learning in the xilith and xivth centuries, in the learned and judicious Mosheim (Institut, Hist. Eccles, p. 434-410: 499 7 1981 Sombs rest administration of the translation of the tr



Revival of

the Greek learning

E H & F. flon; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreating circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of fociety were relieved from the yoke of feudal fervitude; and freedom is the first flep to curiofity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preferved by superstition; the universities, from Bo-Iogna to Oxford st, were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the in Italy. refurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applaud-A purer style of ed as the first harbinger of day. composition, a more generous and rational strain of fentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the fanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the fack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had defpifed and deftroyed the works of Lyfippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a fingle blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and fuch copies it was the am-

bition

⁸⁴ At the end of the xyth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their fcarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 ftudents, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreafed from 30,000 to 6000 scholars (Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478.). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present lift of the members of the university.

understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the slight of the muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years 55. Yet in that country, and bewond the Alps, fome names are quoted; fome profound scholars, who in the darker ages were honourably diftinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of fuch rare examples of erudition. Without fcrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth must observe that their science is without a cause, and without an effect; that it was eafy for them to fatisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had fo marvelloufly acquired. was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner

Revival of the Greek learning in Italy.

the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Gracis: Illustribus, Lingua Graca Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 364-377. tom. vii. p. 112-143.). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

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CHAP of Italy it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical dialect 36 ... The first impression of the Dorio and Ionic colonies has never been completely erazed the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of confiantinople; and the monks of St. Bafil purfued their studies in mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a fectary and an ambaffador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer 87. He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace 35, as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a flow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adversaries, is forced to allow that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato,

Leffons of Barlaam, A. D. ¥339-

> 86 In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Gracis repleta, remanfit quadam lingua veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2.). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Bafil, who poffeffed feven convents at Rossano alone (Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, tom. i.

> P. 520.). 87 II Barbari (fays Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libros sed nomen Homeri audiverunt. Perhaps, in that respect, the xiiith century was less happy than the age of

> Charlemagne.
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> Best the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

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were familiar to that profound and lubtle loo CHAR. gician 19. In the court of Avignon, the formed an intimate connection with Petrarch ? the fifth of the Latin scholars; and the defire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tufcan applied himfelfs with Studies of eager curiofity and affiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and in a laborious ftruggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the fense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was foon deprived of the fociety and leffons of this useful assistant: Barlaam relinquished his fruitles embaffy; and, on his return to Greece, he rathly provoked the fwarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years. the two friends again met in the court of Naples but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally fettled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria 91. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his

Petrarch. A. D. 1339-1374.

> Leffons of Barlaam, A.D.

89 Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 36.

A. romori

90 For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, fee the excellent Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom i. p. 406-410. tom. ii. p. 75-77.

91 The billiopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locri, in the middle ages Seta Cyriaca, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (Differt. Chorographica Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 312.). The dives opum of the Norman times foon lapfed into poverty, fince even the church was poor: yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, p. 340.).

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C H A P. various correspondence and frequent journies. the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in profe and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes, rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambaffador, his friend, and a mafter of both tongues, prefented him with a copy of Homer; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generofity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estima. tion than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: 59 Your present of the genuine and original text " of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, si is worthy of yourfelf and of me: you have " fulfilled your promise, and satisfied my desires. "Yet your liberality is still imperfect: with "Homer you should have given me yourself; a " guide, who could lead me into the fields of ff light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the " fpecious miracles of the Iliad and Odyffey. But; alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I " posses. I have seated him by the side of Plato, "the prince of poets near the prince of philosoohers; and I glory in the fight of my illustrious " guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever " had been translated into the Latin idiom, I had se already acquired; but if there be no profit, there is fome pleafure, in beholding these " venerable Greeks in their proper and national s habit. I am delighted with the aspect of " Homer

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"Homer; and as often as I embrace the filent CHAP volume, I exclaim with a figh, Illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and solf by the death of one friend, and in the much lamented absence of another. Nor do I yet despair; and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters 22."

Of Boccace, A. D. 1360, &c.

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch, was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccace , the father of the Tuscan profe. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and fixty, a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in

92 I will transcribe a passage from this epistle of Petrarch (Famil. ix. 2.) Donasti Homerum non in alienum sermonem violento alveo derivatum, sed ex ipsis Græci eloquii scatebris, et qualis divino illi profluxit ingenio Sine tua voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gandeo tamen vel adspectu solo, ac sæpe illum amplexus atque suspir rans dico, O magne vir, &c.

⁹⁵ For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboschi (tom. v. p. 83. 439—451.) may be consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch his respectable friend, in whose letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.

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LXVI.

Leo Pilatus, first Greek profesfor at Florence, and in the Weft, A. D. 1360-1363.

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CHAP. his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leifure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might difgust the most eager disciple; he was cloathed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment rustic; his temper gloomy and inconstant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treafure of Greek learning: history and fable, philofophy and grammar, were alike at his command: and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose verfion of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the fucceeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreters It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatife on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he oftentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers 94. The first steps

⁹⁴ Boccace indulges an honest vanity: Oftentationis causa Græca carmina adscripfi ..., jure utor meas meum est hoc decus mea gloria scilicet inter Etruscos Græcis uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, &c. (de Genealogia Deorum, l. xv., c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions.) of

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of learning are flow and laborious; no more than CHAP. ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples. could add a fingle name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his paffage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time; he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unfocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Theffalian, in Greece a native of Calabria; in the combany of the Latins he disdained their language. religion, and manner; no fooner was he landed at Constantinople, than he again fighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curiofity and indulgence, and embarked on a fecond voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was affailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropt a tear on his difaster; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be faved from the hands of the mariners 95.

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studious customental to

⁹⁵ Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is fufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2-11.), and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petrarque,

Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chryfoloras, A. D. 1390—1415.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning. which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, foon withered and expired. The fueceeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence: nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century, that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy 96, Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel dispatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chryfoloras 97, of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After vifiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained fome contributions and more promifes, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this fecond invitation. By his knowledge. not only of the Greek, but of the Latin, tongue, Chryfoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation, of the republic: his fchool was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank

tom iii. p. 625-634. 670-673.), who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

96 Dr. Hody (p. 54.) is angry with Leonard Arctin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, &c. for affirming, that the Greek letters were refrored in Italy post Jeptingentos annos; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the viith century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate; and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome, must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

97 See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (p. 12-54.) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. p. 113-118.). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Bonisace IX.

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and age; and one of thefe, in a general history, CHAP. has described his motives and his success. " At "that time," fays Leonard Arctin 98, ". I was a " fludent of the civil law; but my foul was in-" flamed with the love of letters; and I be-" flowed some application on the sciences of lo-" gic and thetoric. On the arrival of Manuel. " I hesitated whether I should defert my legal 4 studies, or relinquish this golden opportunity; " and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my own mind -Wilt thou be wanting " to thyfelf and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuse 5 to be introduced to a familiar converse with " Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes? with those "poets, philosophers, and orators, of whom " fuch wonders are related, and who are cele-"brated by every age as the great malters of "human science? Of professors and scholars in "civil law, a fufficient supply will always be "found in our universities; but a teacher, and " fuch a teacher, of the Greek language, if he "once be fuffered to escape, may never after-"wards be retrieved. Convinced by these reasons, " I gave myself to Chrysoloras; and so strong was my passion, that the lessons which I had "imbibed in the day were the constant subject of

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⁹⁹ The name of Aretinus has been assumed by five or fix natives of Arezzo in Tufcany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the zvith century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and . an historian, the fecretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of feventy-five (Pabric. Bibliot. medii Avi, tom.i. p. 190, &c. Tirabofchi, tom, viis p. 33-38-), X21 silked to nylor out on the R my

THE DECLINE AND FALL



" my nightly dreams "." At the same time and place, the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Perrarch 100: the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school; and Florence became the fruitful feminary of Greek and Ro man erudition The prefence of the emperor recalled Chryfoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople, between embalfies and leffons. In the noble office of enlighten ing a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more facred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chryfoloras died at Constance on a public mission from the emperor his refujence in lock a and the to the council.

The Greeks in Italy, A. D. 1400—1500.

Cardinal Bellanos

> After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language.

99 See the paffage in Arctin. Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia gestarum, apud Hodium, p. 28-30.

often complains of the eager curiofity, reftlefs temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (Memoires for Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700-700).

Hinc Græcæ Latinæque scholæ exortæ sunt, Guarino Philelpho, Leonardo Arctino, Caroloque, ac plerisque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodenntibus, quorum emulatione multa in genia deinceps at laudem excitata sunt (Platina in Bonisacio IX.) Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincenuus, Poggius, Franciscus Barbarus, &c. But I question whether a rigid chronology would allow Chrysolona all these eminent scholars (Hodius, p. 25—27, &c.)

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From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, C H A P. the natives of Thefalonica and Conftantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiofity, and wealth. The fynod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy: and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the Catholic, cause. A patriot, who facrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of fayour, may be possessed however of the private and focial virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of flave and apostate; and the consideration which he acquires among his new affociates. will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his refidence in Italy; and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation 102; his abilities were exercifed in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave 103. His ecclefiaftical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and fervice:

Cardinal Beffarion,

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Maly. A. D.

102 See in Hody the article of Bessarion (p. 136-177): Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the reft of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inferted in their proper chapters of his learned work, See likewise Tiraboschi, in the I's and 2d parts of the vith tome.

101 The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavift refused to interrupt the fludies of Beffarion; " Nicholas," faid he, " thy

"respect has cost thee an hat, and me the tiara."

Vol. XIX.38, re-ze q , smi Kil) s



his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal vifited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations 104; of men applauded by themselves and the public; and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and use ful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century: and it may be fufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Bessarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians was humble and obscure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dress and manners fecluded them from the commerce of the world; and fince they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris 105 will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and Im-

Their faults and merits.

tooler.

104 Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus Andronicus of Theffalonica, Philelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (fays Hody, with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156.).

tos He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honourable life was stretched far into the xvith century (A.D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his noblest patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247—275.). He lest posterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris, from a doubtful marriage in the xiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. P. 224—230.).

integratical pronunciation are collected in the Sylloge of Ha?

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nerial descent, recommended him to the French CHAP. monarchs; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negociate. and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praise, or at least their esteem, was referved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subfishence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully 196. The fuperiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation '07, which they introduced,

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roof Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved and refuted by Franciscus Floridus, who can find no better names than Græculus ineptus et impudens (Hody, p. 274.). In our own times, an English critic has accused the Æneid of containing, multa languida, nugatoria, spiritu et majestate carminis heroici desecta; many such verses as he, the said Jeremiah Markland, would have been ashamed of owning (præsat, ad Statii Sylvas, p. 21, 22.).

C H A P. LXVI.

duced, was banished from the schools by the reafon of the fucceeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant: and those mufical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, must have been the fecret foul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than mute and unmeaning marks; in profe fuperfluous, and troublesome in verse. grammar they truly pollefied: the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transfuled into their lessons; and their treatises of fyntax and etymology, though devoid of philolophic spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of fome author, who, without his industry, might have perished; the transcripts were multiplied by an affiduous, and fometimes an elegant, pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholiasts. The fense, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of style evaporate in a version; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza selected the more solid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science.

The Platonic philofophy. Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics were pursued with more curiosity and ardour. After a desired substantianed servers and a solitoned servers are stantianed servers.

vercamp (a vols. in octave, Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740): but it is difficult to paint founds by words; and in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe, that our peculiar pronunciation of the 0, th, is approved by Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 130.).

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long oblivion, and Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek 108 , who taught in the house of Cofmo of Medicis. While the fynod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial confequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy; his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect; and his fullime thoughts are fometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a fage; and as often as he defcends from the clouds, his moral fystem inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal enquiry: and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic methed of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two fects: with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of. otheir leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. this philosophical debate soon degenerated into an

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¹⁰⁸ George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Bessarion, and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus; See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allasius de Georgis; in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 739—756.).

C HA P. angry and personal quarrel of grammarians: and Beffarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interpoling the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned: but their philosophic for ciety was quickly disfolved; and if the writings of the Attic fage were perufed in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign, the oracle of the church and fchool 109 11 in may ar a thou

and progress of

Emulation of I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks; yet it must be confessed, that they the Latins. were seconded and surpassed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time, it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement, and reward of literature The fame of Nicholas the fifth "10 has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin, he raised himself by his virtue and learning: the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope; and he sharpened those weapons which were foon pointed against the Roman church ".

Nicholas V. A. D. 3447-3455·

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109 The ftate of the Platonic philosophy in Italy, is illustrated by Boivin (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 715-720.) and Tirabofchi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 259-288.). 10 200113

See the life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary author, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. P. ii. p. 905-962.) and Vespalian of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 267-290.), in the collection of Muraton; and confult Tirabofchi (torn, vi. P. 1. 46-52, reg.) and Hedyin

the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, &c.
III Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes in this inflance were worse politicians than the mustis, and that the charm which has bound mankind for fo many ages, was broken by the magicians themselves (Letters on the Study of History, I. vi. p. 165, 166. octavo edition, 1779.).

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He had been the friend of the most eminent CHAP scholars of the age : he became their patron; and fuch was the humility of his manners, that the change was fearcely difcernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a Mberal gift, it was not as the measure of defert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, "accept it," would he fay with a confciousness of his own worth; "you will not always have a Nicholas " among ye." The influence of the holy fee pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the fearch, not of benefices, but of antial and books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries. from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican. the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture; and fuch was the induftry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence, the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was Cofmo preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, and Lowho governed the republic without arms and Medicis. 9H

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LXVI A. D. 1428-1494.

CHAP. without a fitle. Cofmo of Medicis " was the far ther of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost fynonymous with the restoration of learning his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the fervice of mankind: he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books Was often imported in the fame veffel. The genius and education of his grandfon Lorenzo rendered him, not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, diffress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward; his leifure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy : he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuferipts, fourfcore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe "3. The rest of Italy was animated by a fimilar fpirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature: and these disciples of Greece were Oxford in the last years

> 112 See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. 1. l. i. c. 2.), who bestows a due meafure of praise on Alphonso of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deferved the leaft from the gratitude of fcholars.

113 Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 104.), from the preface of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Lates bant (fays Aldus in his preface to the Greek Orators, apud Hodium, p. 249,) in Atho Thraciz monte. Eas Lafcarisin Italiam reportavit. Miserat enim ipsum Laurentius ille Medices in Græciam ad inquirendos fimul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the refearch was facilitated by fultan Bajazet II.

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foon capable of transmitting and improving the CHAP. leffons which they had imbibed. After a short faccession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subfided 1 but the language of Constantinople was foread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England !'s, imparted to their country the facred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome !!. In the productions of the mind, as in those of the foil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and fkill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Hiffus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames: and Beffarion or Gaza might have envied the superior science of the Barbarians; the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the difcernment of Reiske, or of Bentlev. On the fide of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a cafual advantage: but this ufeful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable fucceffors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of

The Lange stelle the examine property of their The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the last years of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Eralmus. Although a front academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge, that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

115 The jealous Italians were defirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publish the Greek scholiasts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (said they), cave hoc facias, ne Barbari istis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Eralmus, p. 363. from Beatus Rhenanus). La lipand sobneriu par be maios to me

evilupitas It is remarkable enough, that the refearch was fa

ilitated by fultan Bajazet II.

CHÁP.

antiquity 116. A fingle manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings: and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labours of our western editors.

Use and abuse of ancient learning.

Before the revival of classic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immerfed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece, were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the fublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns; and yet, from the first experiment, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the

Venice about the year 1494: he printed above fixty confiderable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time; several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors two, three, or four editions (Fabric. Bibliot. Greec. tom. xiii. p. 605, &c.). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget, that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476; and that the Florence Homer of 1488 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the Annales Typographic of Mattaire, and the Bibliographic Instructive of de Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

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first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were CHAP. a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times, might have improved or adorned the prefent flate of fociety: the critic and metaphyfician were the flaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and fome Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato ". The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves; but in that æra of learning, it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in

117 I will felect three fingular examples of this claffic enthufiasm. 1. At the synod of Florence, Gemistus Pletho said, in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospel and the Koran for a religion fimilar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. persecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accused of herefy. impiety, and paganism (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 81, 82.). 3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the fuccess of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a festival of Bacchus, and as it is faid, by the facrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionaire, JODELLE. Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 56-61.). Yet the fpirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in the Sportive play of fancy and learning. of Bure, a knowled bookfeller of P.

LXVI.

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LX II.

Compari

to nat Rome and

CHAP, the popular language of the country ". But as foon as it had been deeply faturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined: the claffics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleafing reign of poetry and fiction was fucceeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the feafon of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has Conflantinonle learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

> The furvivor Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the composition of the Morgante Mage giore of Pulci, and the Orlando Inamorato of Boyardo (Tira boschi, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 174-177.).

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long fines annihile enthulialin, the majetty of rain relieved the image of her accient or faction. The incomments of big styriging soft so the confuls and Celer. spolless engaged one all fides the curiotity of the philosopher and the Chirifian i and he confessed. that, in every age the drois and the adigion of Rome were defined to telem over the earth,

The cpifile of Manuel Carviolers to the engerer John Pa-Sologue will not offered the eye or executed flat tomblet alorm Codini de Amiquitaril as C. P. a. 100-206, 1 The his perfeription flaggetts a chronological remark, that John Palmologue II. was affociated in the chopine before the year rarge this date of Chryfoloras's death -A fill earlier date, at leaft 1408, rededuced from the age of his youngest fons. Demetrius and Thomas, who were both Paralyregenia (Ducango, Fam. Byzaniz

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Schism of the Greeks and Latins .- Reign and Character of Amurath the Second .- Crufade of Ladistans King of Hungary, -His Defeat and Death. - John Huniades .- Scanderbeg .- Constantine Palaologus last Emperor of the East.

THE respective merits of Rome and Con- CHAP. stantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek the father of the Italian Comparischools. The view of the ancient capital, the Rome and feat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old fophift, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long fince vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the confuls and Cæfars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth.

fon of nople.

While

The epiftle of Manuel Chryfoloras to the emperor John Pabeclogus, will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P. p. 107-126.). The fuperscription suggests a chronological remark, that John Palzologus II. was affociated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chryfoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest fons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both Porphyrogeniti (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. P. 244, 247.).

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While Chryfoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native. country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth, on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the fuperior merit of their children. " Con-" stantinople," says the orator, " is situate on a " commanding point, between Europe and Asia, " between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interpolition, the two feas, and the two " continents, are united for the common benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may " be flut or opened at her command. The har-" bour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and the continent, is the most secure and capacious " in the world. The walls and gates of Constan-" tinople may be compared with those of Baby-" lon: the towers are many; each tower is a folid " and lofty structure; and the fecond wall, the outer fortification, would be fufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A " broad and rapid stream may be introduced into " the ditches; and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens 2, by land or water." flantinopic cannot be applied to the affection of

² Somebody observed, that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (τις είπεν την πολίν των Αθηναίων δυνασθαί και παραπλείν και περιπλείν). But what may be true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople,

Two firong and natural causes are alleged for CHAP. the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and in the accomplishment of his defigns, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with diforder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal fpot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their anceltors, and the original vices of fituation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a fingle mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the fubiects and fucceffors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Afia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cifterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The fuperfluity of wealth was fpread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be confidered as a populous fuburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully con-

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flantinople, cannot be applied to the fituation of Athens, five miles from the fea, and not interfected or furrounded by any navigable freams. may be true in a cheforical feate of Con-

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TXYII.

The Greek schisson after the council of Florence A.D. TAAO I448-

founded to birt a fight and confession ascape from the orandra that this wretched country was the hallow and femilihrendfalits of owners fello The works of ancient feulpture had been defaced by Obriffian zeal of Barbatic wiolences; the fairely fructures were demolished and the marbles of Parosi or Numidia were burnt for limer on applied to the meanest iffers I Of many a dame, the place was marked by an iempty pedellals of many a bolumn, the fize was determined by a broken ga mitab ! the tembs of the emperors i were , issuered on the grounds the Rioke of time was accelerated by inorms and earthquakes or and the vacant fpace was adorned by subject tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and falver. From thefe won ders which dived only in memory or belief he diffinguifies however the porphyry pillar, the inhumi and coloffes of Justinian , land the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the belt conclusion, fince it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deferve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a century before, the trembling fabries of the coloffus and the church had been faved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the Thirty years after the emperor had forth fied St. Sophia with two new buttreffes or pyra

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³ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the colonius of Julinias (1 vii. 12.); but his measures are false and dicentifient. The editor Boivin consulted his friend Girardon; and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equentian statue. That of Justiman was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column but in the outward court of the seraglio; and he was at Constantinable when it was melted down, and cast into a brais can non (the Topograph. C. P. I. ii. c. 17.).

and the images, the altars, and the fanctuary, were crushed by the falling min. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labout of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were confecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East.

The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and harghter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised, but these signs of friendship were persidious or smithed like a dream. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian gallies; but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of

The Greek fchifm after the council of Florence, A. D. 1440—1448.

4 See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xv. 2.). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himfelf, &c.

The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 322—331.) opens the schism from the sirst office of the Greeks at Venice, to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

50n the schiffn of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Lannicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156.), and Ducas (c. 31.); the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Flenry (tom. xxii. P. 185, sec. (401. 420, &c.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440—30.). The sense of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

Vol. XII.

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OHAP Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore than they were faluted, or rather affailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclefiaftical rulers: fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the affurance of a prompt relief and a powerful fuccour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public refentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event or use of their Italian fynod? they answered with fighs and tears, 'S Alas! we have made a new faith; we have 15 exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed 15 the immaculate facrifice; and we are become MestimyzAthe world ; but the gofpel of Mark was

" Azymites" (The Azymites were those who CHAP. celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times.) " Alas! we have been seduced by dif-" trefs, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears " of a transitory life. The hand that has figned "the union should be cut off; and the tongue "that has pronounced the Latin creed deferves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preferved fome regard for honour and confiftency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and cardinal Bessarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Watican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus': he was confecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their fervice; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephefus, the champion of his country; and the fufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious difcord; age and infirmity foon removed him from the world; but the gospel of Mark was

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TAP. not a law of forgiveness; and he requested with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his afpired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanaision

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Zeal of the Orientals and Ruffians.

The fehifin was not confined to the narrow kimits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamalake feetire, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, affembled a numerous fynod: difowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the fecturies of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and fuperstitious. Their primate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow', to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Ruffian bishops had been educated at mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priefts. They were fcandalifed by the title, the pomp, the Latin crofs of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Ifidore was condemned by a fynod; his person was imprisoned · in a monastery; and it was with extreme difficulty,

and the reblieve firsts who appose his government. As these the feeled a special state of Kiow, but the Greeks special to the feeled as the fe Poland have removed that fee from the rains of Kiow to Lemberg; or Leopold (Herbestein; in Ramusio, tom. ii, p. 1214) On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedence to the archbishop, who became, in 1488, the patriarch, of Molcow (Levelque, Hill, de Ruffie, tom, ili, 24,188. 199. from a Greek MS. at Turin, Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Arfenii). that

CHAP

Zeal of

the Orien-

Ruffians.

that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people to The Russians refused a passage to the missionaries of Rome who aspired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanais? and their refusal was justified by the maxim, that the guilt of idolatry is lefs damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excufed by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy folicited the friendthip of those fanguinary enthusiasts ". While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls. or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest: it was foon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be deltitute of foreign and domestic aid. The fword of

8 The curious narrative of Levesque (Hist. de Russe, tom. ii. b. 242 – 247.) is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The stenes of Ferrara and Florence are described by ignorance and passion; but the Russians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

Gymnofophifts, has been driven by the more popular Bramina from India into the northern deferts; the naked philosophers were compelled to wrap themselves in fur; but they insensibly limit into wizards and physicians. The Mordvans and Tcheremisses in the European Russia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his ministers or angels, and the rebellious spirits who oppose his government. As these tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more justly retort on the Latin missionaries the name of idolaters (Levesque, Hust. Res Peuples formis a la Domination des Russes, tom. i. p. 1947-233, 223-460.).

The Epittle of the Greeks, with a Latin vertion, is extant in the college library at Prague.

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his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular filence, was half unfficathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

Reign and character of Amurath II.

A. D.

1421—
1451,
February
9.

Sultan Murad or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, fix months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great foul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and en-" courager of the studious, and of all who excel-" led in any art or science; a good emperor, " and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath: Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign, " the foldier was ever victorious, the citizen " rich and fecure. If he fubdued any country, "his first care was to build moschs and caravanseras, hospitals, and colleges. Every " year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the so fons of the prophet; and fent two thousand se five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem "." This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire; but the applause of a fervile and superfitious people has been lavished on the worlt of tyrants; and the virtues of a fultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to

Murad, or Morad, may be more correct: but I have preferred the popular name, ito that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet his

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Reign and

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his fubjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, must be awed by the flashes of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice; his profusion, of liberality; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the Janizaries: and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their fovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Musulman: the unbeliever's were bis enemies, and those of the prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the scymetar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves; who consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his fingular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he feldom engaged in a war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious fultan was difarmed by fubmission; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and facred ". The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; he was provoked by the

Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146.). In his good faith towards the garrifon of Sfetigrade, he was a lesson and example to his fon Mahomet.

CHAP revolt of Scanderbeg sand the perfidious Caras manian was twice vanquished tand dewice part doned by the Ottoman monarch to Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been durprifed by the despet? in the conquest of Thestalonica, the grandfon of Bajazet might dispute the recent pure chase of the Venetians; and after the first fiege of Constantinople, the fultan was never tempted, by the diffres, the absence, or the injuries of Paland logus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzanoccupations were again interrupted by stiguts anit

His double abdication, A. D. 1442-3444·

-But the most striking feature in the dife and character of Amurath, is the double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were now his motives debased by an allow of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher 13, who at the age of forty could difcern the vanity of human greatness Refigning the fceptre to his fon, he retired to the pleafant refidence of Magnefia; but he retired to the fociety of faints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution for adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crufades, the various orders of Dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks ". The lord of nations Submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round in

"Woltaire (Effal für l'Hiftoire Generale, c. 89.) pt 283, 284.) admires to Philosophe Ture; would he have befrowed the fame phalle on a Chillian prince for retiring to a monaftery of In his

374 Bee the articles Derestober Pakir, Noffer, Robbaniat, in d'Here belot's Bibliotheque Orientale La Vet the fubject is fuperficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. 19 Itois among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

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endless notation with the fangtics who mistook CHARO the giddings lefs the head for the illumination of the fpirit 15 But he was foon awakened from this dream of enthufialm, by the Hungarian invalions and his obedient fon was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizanies fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to falt, and to turn round with his Magnefian brethren. These pious! occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the ffated A victorious army difdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and flaughterm and the unanimous divant implored his presence to appeale the tumult, and prevent the rebelliong of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their mafter, they trembled, and obeyed; and the reluctant fultan was compelled to support his filendid fervicude, till, at the end of four years. he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or difeafe, misfortune or caprice, have tempted feveral princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leifure to repent of their irretrieveable frep. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty. of choice, after the trial of empire and folitude. has repeated his preference of a private life timelin

His double abdication, A.D. 1442-3444.

Rycaut (in the Present State of the Ottoman Empire. p. 242-268.) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom afcribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the Zibbida of Chalcondyles (L. vii. p. 2861) among whom Amurath retired : the Seids of that author are the descentreated from the Perfian and Arabian writers .tsmoiaMile etnish

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Eugenius forms a league againft the Turks, A. D. 1443.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might foon invade. the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong pas. fion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Afia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were infufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible ftore-house of men and arms 16: but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the ftrength, without fatiating the animofity of France and England ": but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed,

arms, against the Hussites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Basse, tom. i. p. 318.). At the siege of Nuys on the Rhine in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities, sent their respective quotas: and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the king of England and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2.). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline, by the powers of Germany.

agree on a truce of fome months (See Rymer's Fædera, and the chronicles of both nations).

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LXVII.

without danger or expence, the adventurous piety of his fubjects, who failed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hoftile fleets were affociated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians. and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those fwords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverfe to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the fentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this fide, the defigns of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times 18; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus.", a young the bener vere from any in firene with sees warpons.

In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (Annal. Ecclef. A.D. 1443, 1444.) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

19 I have curtailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which most writers assix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish

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LXVII

Ladillaus. king of Poland and Hungary, marches Swains

CIH AIP and ambitious foldier; by the valour of an hero whole name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was fcattered by the legatev many private warniors of France and Germany enlifted under the holy banner; and the crufade derived fome frength, or at least fome reputation. from the new allies, both of Europe and Afia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor 20, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to fally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops, The fultan of Caramania " announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the fame moment the streights of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be disfevered and destroyed. Heaven and earth mult rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and

> pronunciation, or to diffing mith him from his adval the infant Ladiflaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hung gary is described by Callimachus (l.i, ii, p. 447-486), Bonfinius (Decad, iil. l. iv.), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

> At The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducas do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he feems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by four thousand captives, were unquestionablassified

> Cantemir (p. 88.) afcribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes his animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are feldom informed of the flate of Christendom; and the lituation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the fultan of Caramapia. the

battle.

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the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the CHAP opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid, of the Son of God, and his divine Mother. on ybearla

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious Ladislaus, war was the unanimous cry; and Ladiflaus, after Poland passing the Danube, led an army of his confeder and Hun-

rate fubjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the marches Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they ob against them. mined two figual victories, which were july aferibed to the valour and conduct of Humades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowhed of their generals, who possessed the double advanage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of fix days march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclefiaftical procelfion was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Chriftianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were prefent to contradict, the crufaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the mys riads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.

The Turkish peace. battle 22. The most folid proof, and the most fa lutary confequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to folicit peace, to restore Servia to ranfom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot and Huniades himfelf, in the diet of Segedin, were fatisfied with public and private emolument; 2 truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity; but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and asu perstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible fymbols, of an oath 23. I will ve believe and

Violation of the peace, A. D.

aslud

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortissed by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that

²² In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians flay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modest Julian reduce the flaughter to 6000, or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5. and epist. 44. 81. apud Spondanum).

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²³ See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the vth and vi^{ta} books of the fiid Decad of Bonfinius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487—496.) is still more pure and authentic.

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CHAP.

LXVII.

the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty. of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. " And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal 4, " that you will defert their expectations and your own fortune. It is to " them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, "that you have pledged your faith; and that "prior obligation annihilates a rash and facrile-" gious oath to the enemies of Christ. His "vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without "whose fanction you can neither promise nor "perform. In his name I absolve your perjury " and fanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in "the paths of glory and falvation; and if still ye "have scruples, devolve on my head the punish-"ment and the fin." This mischievous casuistry was feconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular affemblies: war was refolved, on the same spot where peace had so lately been fworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were affaulted by the Christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falfehood of Ladiflaus to his word and oath, was palliated by the religion of the times: the most perfect, or at least the most pothe Hungarians

²⁴ I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 305-507.), Bonfinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controverly are fiercely attacked by the protestants, and feebly defended by the Cathohes. The latter are discouraged by the missortune of Warnadius orli

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CHAP, pular, excuse would have been the fuccess of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience, had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and Ger. man volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps difgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hashin retired to their provinces and caftles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition, were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the fultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed, might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promife of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial prefumption of Huniades himfelf, were perfuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the fword and the crofs. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and fecure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according

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ıg to to the Scythian discipline, might always be en . C HIA P. vered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred : the Carliolies marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last flation was at Warna, near the fea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have beflowed a memorable name "5.

a confederate fleet to fecond their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath Nov. 10. himself, who had iffued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or feduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the fultan advanced by hasty marches, at the head

of fixty thousand men; and when the cardinal,

and Huniades, had taken a nearer furvey of the

numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent

variors proposed the tardy and impracticable

It was on this fatal foot, that, instead of finding Battle of Warna, A. D.

the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead 25 Warna, under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milefians, which they denominated from the hero Ulyffes (Callarius, tom. 14 p. 374. d'Anville, tom. 1. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (p. 24, 252 in the ret volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was fituate 1740 stadia, or furlangs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 340 to the north of wridge or promontor wor mount Hames, which advances into the fea.

Vol. XII.

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measure

C H A P. measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his refolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and falutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Ana. tolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset: but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his fquadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary feized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the folder who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the hight, of his fovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been diplayed in the front of battle; and it is faid, that the fultan in his diffress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion 46. With inferior numbers and difordered ranks, the king of Hungary rufted forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman

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²⁶ Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his bosom the hoft or wafer on which the treaty had not been fworn. The Moslems suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise infinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516. Spondan. A. D. 1444, No 8.).

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annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of CHAP. Amurath "; he fell among the fpears of the infantry; and a Turkith foldier proclaimed with a Death of loud voice, " Hungarians, behold the head of " your king!" The death of Ladiflaus was the fighal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public lofs: he ftrove to refcue the royal body, fill he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to fave the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warna: the loss of the Turks; more confiderable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic filtan was not affiamed to confess, that his ruin must be the confequence of a second and fimilar victory. At his command a column was erected on the foot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modelt infeription, instead of accusing the rashnels. recorded the valour, and bewalled the misfortune. of the Hungarian youth ... Discouling to

thin to define ages fuckleuppous audubergree 27 A critic will always diftrust these spolia opima of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517.) more simply and probably affirms, supervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tam confessus est, quam obrutus.

28 Besides some valuable hints from Æneas Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a *Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri ili. in Bel. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433-518.), Bonfinius (decad iii. l. v. p. 460-467.), and Chalcocondyles (l. vii. P. 165-179.). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin, med. et

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CHAP. · LXVII. The cardinal Julian.

Before I lose fight of the field of Warna, I am tempted to paule on the character and story of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian 20 Cæfarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his studies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the sciences of divinity and law; and his verfatile genius was equally adapted to the schools, the camp, and the court. No fooner had he been invested with the Roman purple, than he was fent into Germany to arm the empire against the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The spirit of persecution is unworthy of a Christian; the military profession ill becomes a priest; but the former is excused by the times; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who stood dauntless and alone in the difgraceful flight of the German hoft. As the pope's legate, he opened the council of Basil; but the prefident foon appeared the most strenuous champion of ecclefiaftical freedom; and an opposition of seven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the strongest measures against the authority and person of Eugenius, fome fecret motive of interest or conscience engaged him to defert on a fudden the popular party.

infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324. Voffrus de Hift. Latin. l. iii. c. · 8. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, Bonfinius). A small tract of Falix Petancius, chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cuspinian, de Cæsaribus, p. 716-722.), represents the theatre of the war in the ww

29 M. Lenfant has described the origin (Hift. du Concile de Balle, tom, i. p. 247, &c.), and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, &c.) of cardinal Julian. His fervices at Bafil and Ferrara, and his wifortunate end, are occasionally related by Spondanus, and the continuator of Fleury.

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The cardinal withdrew himself from Basil to Fer. C. H A P. rara; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments and the depth of his theological crudition 30. In his Hungarian embaffy we have already feen the mischievous effects of his sophistry and eloquence, of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a priest and a foldier, was lost in the defeat of Warna. The circumstances of his death are variously related; but it is believed, that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of some Christian becomes a priest; but the former is exceptiful

From an humble, or at least a doubtful origin, John Corthe merit of John Huniades promoted him to the vinus Hucommand of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the furname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might fuggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome 31. In his youth he ferved in the wars of Italy; and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrab: the valour of

Bayle, Didhophaire, Bong tyrus). A finall traft of Felix Syropulus honourably praises the talents of an enemy (p. 117.): Totappa tiva sime & Teliavos, wendatus perios agas ans hopixus, nat per בחוקחושק אמו לבניסדשדטק "בחדספואחק."

³⁵ See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian biftorian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, the absurd flattery, which confounded the name of a Wathehian village with the cafnal, though glorious, epithet of a fingle branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

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LXVII.

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BILL.

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CHAP. the white knight ! was foon conspicuous; he encreafed his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders, he won in the fame year three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important fervice was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Transvlvania. The first of Julian's crufades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public diffress the fetal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at first was filenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a confummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of defultory Barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated Janeus Lain, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain and his country

irrecoverably

²³² Philip de Comines (Memoires, l. vi. c, 13.), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimfical name of the Chevalier Blane de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcocondyles, and the Turkish Annals. of Leunclavius, prefume to accuse his fidelity or valour.

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irrecoverably loft. Instead of confining himself CHAP. to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Warna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and in the plain of Coffova fustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was furprifed by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck. he recovered his fword, flew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, confoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the fecond in person. After a siege His deof forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom 13. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who fighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the fingle antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and

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fence of Belgrade and death, July 22, Sept. 4.

33 See Bonfinius (decad iii. 1. viii. p. 492.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, No 1-7.) Humades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capiftran, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives, neither the faint nor the hero condescend to take notice of his rival's merit.

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a faint :

CHAP a faint; but his pureft merit is the encourage. ment of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the fon, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character 34.11 and voilog district in

Birth and education of Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, A. D. 1404-1413, &c.

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In the lift of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly affociated 35: and they are both entitled to our notice, fince their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg 36, was the hereditary prince of a small diffrict of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic fea. Unable to contend with the fultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute; he deli-

34 See Bonfinius, decad iii. I. viii. decad iv. I. viii. fervations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus, are curious and critical (A. D. 1464, No 1. 1475, No 6. 1476, No 14-16. 1490, No 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p. 322-412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian, His wife and facetious fayings are registered by Galestus Martins of Narni (528-568.): and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bel's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

35 They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleafing Esfay on Heroic Virtue (works, vol. iii. p. 385.), among the seven chiefs who have deferved, without wearing, a royal crown; Belifarius, Narfes, Gonfalvo of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George

Caftriot, or Scanderbeg.

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36 I could wish for some simple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vita, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c. libri xiii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gawdy and cumberiome robes are fluck with many falle jewels. See likewife Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185. l. viii. p. 229.

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vered his four fons as the pledges of his fidelity; CHAP. and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcifion, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy 37. The three elder brothers . were confounded in the crowd of flaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed, cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the fuspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot. the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth. displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The fuccessive overthrow of a Tartar and two Perfians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (Iskender Beg.), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and fervitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province: but the lofs was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He ferved with honour in the wars of Europe and Afia; and we may fmile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes, that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Mufulman The glory of Huniades is without reproach; he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of

37 His circumcifion, education, &c., are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7.).

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C H A P. traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the flavery of his country; and they adore the generous though tardy, zeal, with which he afferted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Gofpel; the religion of a foldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty 38 could be poured into his foul. His motives would be lefs exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was fensible of its weight: but a long oblivion had furely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the fultan and his subject. If had long harboured the belief of Scanderbeg Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn the base dissimulation, that could ferve only to betray, that could promife only to be foresworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thoufands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a fecret correspondence with Huniades, while he

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¹³ Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the Ixilia year of his age (Marinus, l. xiii, p. 370.), he was born in 1403; fince he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was novennis (Marinus, l. i. p. r. 6.), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Amurath II. who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian Have. Spondanus has remarked this inconfistency, A. D. 1431, No 31. 1443, No 14.

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commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? CHAP. hall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a treacherous defertion which abandoned the vic- His revolt tory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was A.D. fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal fecretary: Nov. 28. with a dagger at his breaft, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train. prevented the confequences of an immediate difcovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate; and no fooner did he command the fortress, than George Caftriot dropt the mask of diffimulation; abjured the prophet and the fultan, and proclaimed himfelf the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrifons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the flates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable saltpits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats 39; and the entire sum,

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years before the accession of Amerath II, who must have 39 His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. P. 44.) I ON This incompletely A. D. Is at . No 14. 18 1 14 14 19

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LXVII.

His valour.

CHAP, exempt from the demands of luxury, was firidly appropriated to the public ufe. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example strengthened his command: and under his conduct, the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his fervice: his flanding militia confifted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active ; but he viewed with a difcerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms. Scanderbeg refisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the fecond, and his greater fon, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they purfued with feeming contempt and implacable refentment. At the head of fixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into moschs, circumcife the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives: but the conquests of the fultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade; and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple ... draumA time and merger of Amurath's death at Adrianople

⁴² There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17.), was contiguous

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Amurath retired with shame and loss from the CHAP. walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat, were haraffed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adversary "; and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the fultan 42. In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the fecond still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negociate a truce; and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countrymen: but his narrow dominion, and slender powers, must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His fplendid atchievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were flain by his fingle hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark folitude of

contiguous to the fortress of Ssetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traiterously been cast (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

41 Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.), with the pompous and prolix declamation in the ivib, veh, and vib books of the Albanian priest, who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

44 In honour of his hero, Barletius (1 vi. p. 188-1921) kills the fultan, by difease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious siction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

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C A A P. Epirus, his partial brographers may fafely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the fuccour of the king of Naples 13. Without all. paragement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger, he applied to pope Pius the fecond for a refuge in the eccle. fiaftical state; and his relources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus on the Venetian territory . His fepulchre was foon violated by the Turkish conquerors; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the confequences of submission and resistance, a patriot

and death. A D. 1467, Jan. 17.

> 43 See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixel and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or filence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom, xiii, p. 201.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Francifei Sfortiæ, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 748. et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of Stradion, foon became famous in the wars of Italy (Memoires de Comines, 1. viii. c. 5.). Sarka linva 202 (750)

> 44 Spondamus, from the best evidence and the most rational criticism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human fire (A. D. 1461, No 20. 1463, No 9. 1465, No 12, 13. 1467, No 1.). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. if. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring ifle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Bar-

letius (l. x.).

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perhaps would have declined the unequal con- CAAP. tell which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbey might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the bope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant fon was faved from the national shipwreck; the Castriots 45 were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a fertlement in Calabria, and they preferve at this day the language and manners of their anreftors 46.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade, the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the

Conftantine, the last of the Roman or Greek emperors, A. D. 1448, Nov. 1—A. D. 1453, May 29.

⁴⁵ See the family of the Castriote, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c. xviii. p. 348—350.).

⁴⁵ This colony of Albanefe is mentioned by Mr. Swinburge (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350-354.).

⁴⁷ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic; but inflead of four years and feven months, Spondanus (A. D. 1445, N° 7.) affigns feven or eight years to the reign of the last Conflantine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Æthiopia.

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CHAP. emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far distant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selybria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled with the public distress; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with fingular and even fuspicious haste; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimfy fophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and foldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful fuccessor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, afferted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambasfador, the historian Phranza, was immediately dispatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and difmiffed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish fultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfal of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he failed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his fubjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately refigned to his brothers the possession of the

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the Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two CHAP. princes. Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a confort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the toval families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embaffy of Phranza reprefents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine emor; and the despot I homis iot the tautuit tue

The protovestiare, or great chamberlain, Phranza failed from Constantinople as minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue confifted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks; he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embaffy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and fuch was their fimplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive

Embaffies of Phranza, A. D. 1450-1452.

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Vol. XII.

LXVII.

CHAP. by the Barbarians 49, and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India so, from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown fea 51. From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the fage and pacific fystem of his father. After the fultan's decease, his Christian wife Maria 52, the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents: on the fame of her beauty and merit, the was recommended by the ambaffador as the most

> 49 Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Tartar mafter into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence fail to the fpice islands.

> 59 The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale; dragons feventy cubits, ants (the formica Indica) nine inches long, theep like elephants, elephants like theep. Quidlibet audendi,

> 51 He failed in a country vessel from the spice island to one of the ports of the exterior India; invenitque navem grandem Ibericam, quâ in Portugalliam est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30.), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is fullied by the old and incompatible error which places the fource of the Nile in India.

> 52 Cantemir (p. 83.), who flyles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not eafily be believed, that in fixand-twenty years cohabitation, the fultan corpus eius non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22.).

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worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza CHAP. recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be raifed against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the diffrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that failed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the fultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter 53, he offered a portion of fifty-fix thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats; and the services of the ambasfador were repaid by an affurance, that, as his fon had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermillion crosses on the golden bull, and affured the Georgian envoy, that in the

⁵³ The claffical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (lliad l. v. 144), and the general practice of antiquity.

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CHAP. fpring his gallies should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful fervant, not with the cold approbation of a fovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his fecrets into the bosom of his friend.

State of the Byzantine court.

" Since the death of my mother and of Canta-" cuzene, who alone advifed me without interest " or passion 54, I am surrounded," faid the emperor, " by men whom I can neither love, nor trust, nor efteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas No-" taras, the great admiral; obstinately attached " to his own fentiments, he declares, both in " private and public, that his fentiments are the " absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. "The rest of the courtiers are swaved by their " personal or factious views; and how can I " confult the monks on questions of policy and " marriage? I have yet much employment for " your diligence and fidelity. In the fpring you " shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the " fuccour of the Western powers; from the " Morea you shall fail to Cyprus on a particular " commission; and from thence proceed to Geor-" gia to receive and conduct the future empress." "Your commands," replied Phranza, " are ir-" refistible; but deign, great fir," he added, with a ferious fmile, " to confider that if I am " thus perpetually absent from my family, my

54 Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm afferter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (Syropulus, p. 37, 38. 45.).

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" wife may be tempted either to feek another CHAP. " husband, or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely confoled him by the pleafing affurance that this should be his last fervice abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heirefs; for himfelf, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requifite to negociate a confent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an infolent and powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embaffy; and Phranza had resolved, that the youth his son should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public defigns, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire. arollular to say a legal off out bar

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CHAP. LXVIII.

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Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second.— Siege, Affault, and final Conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks.—Death of Constantine Palæologus.—Servitude of the Greeks.—Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East.—Consternation of Europe.—Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

C H A P. LXVIII. Character of Mahomet II. THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the second was the son of the second Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably consounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and as often as he conversed with an insidel, he purished his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry; his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he

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For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude; see likewise Spondanus (A. D. 1451, N° 11.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552.) the Elegia of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164—166.), and the Dictionaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272—279.).

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prefumed (it is faid) to brand the prophet of CHAP. Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the fultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran 2: his private indiscretion must have been facred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth, must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and befides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages 3, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldwan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and fuch studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praises in Latin poetry or

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2 Cantemir (p. 115.), and the moschs which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1453, Nº 22.).

3 Quinque linguas præter fuam noverat; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Perficam. The Latin translator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every

4 Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and fifters from the conqueror of Conftantinople. It was delivered into the fultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philelphus himself was suspected of a defign of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often founded the trumpet of holy war (fee his Life by M. Launcelot, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 724, &c.).

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LXVIII.

C H A P. profe might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew flaves? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West's, excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy 7. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his favage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whole bellies were ripped open in fearch of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous flave, whose head he fevered from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His fobriety is attested by the filence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the

> 5 Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his xii books de Re Militari, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigifmond Malatesta, prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

6 According to Phranza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere, that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these lives are a school of freedom as well as of valour.

7 The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a flave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

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Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness . But CHAP. it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the flightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible fword. He was doubtless a foldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the atchievements, Mahomet the fecond must blush to fustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; vet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir: and after a session

His reign, A. D. 1451, February 9— A. D. 1481, July 2.

These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.). The sophis of Persia can produce a more regular succession; and in the last age, our European travellers are the witnesses and companions of their revels.

CHAP.

of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride to refide in the government of Magnefia. Before the end of fix weeks, he was recalled by a fudden meffage from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the lanizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the foldiers and the people, fell proftrate before the new fultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers?. The ambaffadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the folemn oaths and fair assurances, with which he fealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was affigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the feverity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's house-

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⁹ Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptised at Rome under the name of Callistus Othoroannus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (de Cæsaribus, p. 672, 673.).

hold: the expences of luxury were applied to CHAP. those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his fervice or enlifted in his troops. In the first fummer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design 10.

The Mahometan, and more especially the Hostile in-Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promife can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the fultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had fcorned this immoral privilege; but his fon, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he inceffantly fighed for the poffeffion of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indifcretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture ". Instead of labouring to be forgotten.

tentions of Mahomet, A. D. 1451.

10 See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Phranza (l. i. c. 33. l iii. c. 2.), Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 199.), and Cantemir (p. 96.).

Before I enter on the fiege of Constantinople I shall observe, that except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest : fuch an account as we poffefs of the fiege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723-769.). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their diffress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7-20.), Chalcocondyles

CHAP.

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gotten, their ambaffadors purfued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the encrease, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a fecret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Ro-" mans," faid Calil, " we know your devices, " and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the " scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne " is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no " laws can bind and no obstacles can resist: and " if you escape from his hands give praise to the " divine clemency, which yet delays the chaftife-" ment of your fins. Why do ye feek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the " fugitive Orchan, crown him fultan of Ro-" mania; call the Hungarians from beyond the " Danube; arm against us the nations of the "West; and be affured, that you will only pro-" voke and precipitate your ruin." But, if the fears of the ambaffadors were alarmed by the ftern language of the vizir, they were foothed by

cocondyles (l. viii. p. 201—214.), and Leonardus Chienfis (Hiftoria C. P. a Turco expugnatæ. Norimberghæ, 1544, in 4^{to}, 20 leaves). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the isle of Chios, the 16th of August 1453, only seventy nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first consuson of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epistle of cardinal Isidore (in Farragine Rerum Turcicarum, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Clauseri, Basil, 1556) to pope Nicholas V. and a tract of Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed in the year 1581 to Martin Crusius (Turco-Græcia, l. i. p. 74—98. Basil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (A. D. 1453, No 1—27.). The hearsay relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins, I shall take leave to difregard.

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the courteous audience and friendly speeches of CHAP. the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet affured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and confult the true interest, of the Greeks. No fooner had he repassed the Hellespont than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus. an Afiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the European fide, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded. to affemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis 12. Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can feldom perfuade: the ambaffadors of the emperor attempted, without fuccess, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his defign. They represented that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the streight, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea. and perhaps to annihilate the subfistence of the

The fituation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (de Bosphorus Thracio, l. ii. c. 13.), Leunclavius (Pandect. p. 445.), and Tournefort (Voyage dans le Levant, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444.); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to vol. iii. ch. 17. of this History.

C H A P.

city. " I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious fultan, " against the city; but the empire " of Constantinople is measured by her walls. " Have you forgot the diffress to which my fa-" ther was reduced, when you formed a league " with the Hungarians; when they invaded our so country by land, and the Hellespont was oc-" cupied by the French gallies? Amurath was " compelled to force the paffage of the Bof-" phorus; and your strength was not equal to " your malevolence. I was then a child at Adri-" anople; the Moslems trembled; and for a while " the Gabours 13 infulted our difgrace. But when " my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, " he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, " and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. " Have ye the right, have ye the power, to con-" trol my actions on my own ground? For that " ground is my own: as far as the shores of the " Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and " Europe is deferted by the Romans. Return, and " inform your king that the present Ottoman is far " different from his predecessors; that bis resolu-" tions furpass their wishes; and that he performs " more than they could refolve. Return in fafety " -but the next who delivers a fimilar meffage " may expect to be flayed alive." After this de-

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¹³ The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the Infidels, is expressed Kaßoug by Ducas, and Giaour by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 530.) from Kaßougov in vulgar Greek, a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! Gabour is no more than Gheber, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucisix (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375.).

claration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in CHAP. fpirit as in rank 14, had determined to unsheathe the fword, and to refift the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was difarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclefiaffical ministers, who recommended a fystem less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-fuffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own fafety and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wife and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the fpring and the fultan decided the affurance of their ruin.

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Of a master who never forgives, the orders are He builds feldom difobeyed. On the twenty-fixth of March, a fortress on the the appointed fpot of Asomaton was covered with Bosphoan active fwarm of Turkish artificers; and the A.D. materials by fea and land, were diligently tran- 1452, fported from Europe and Afia 15. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut

14 Phranza does justice to his master's sense and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere constituit, and stigmatises the folly of the cum sacri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amentes spe vana pasci. Ducas was not a privy-counfellor.

15 Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97.) revived the foolish tale of the ox's

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CHAP. down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia: and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries . Each of the thousand materis was affifted by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily talk in The fortrefe was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a firong and many tower, one on the declivity of the hill, two along the lea-thore: a thickness of twenty two feet was affigued for the walls, thirty for the lowers; and the whole billding was covered with a folid platform of fead. Mahomet himfelfopreffed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour his three vicins claimed the honour of finishing wheir respective stowers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the land zaries; the meanoft labour was ennobled by the fervice of God and the fultan grand the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a defpot, whose fmile was the hope of fortune, and whole frown was the mellenger of deathed The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irrefiltible progrefs of the work; and vainty ftrove, by flattery and gifts, to affuage an implacable foe, who fought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel Such occasions must foon and inevitably be found. The ruins of feately churches, and even the marble columns which had been confecrated to St. Michael the archangel,

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hide, and Dido's fratagem in the foundation of Carthage. Their ahnals (unless we are swayed by an antichriftian prejudice) are

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far less valuable than the Greek historians.

The the dimensions of this fortress, the old canle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcocondyles, whole defcription has been verified on the foot by his editor Leunclavius.

were employed without scruple by the profane CHAP. and rapacious Moslems; and fome Christians, who prefumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp. and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horfes to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the infult was refented; and feveral of both nations were flain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unfuspecting reapers were massacred by the Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the vifits of commerce and curiofity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives 17; and expreffed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a foldier. " Since neither " oaths, nor treaty, nor fubmission, can secure " peace, pursue," faid he to Mahomet, " your " impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: " if it should please him to mollify your heart, I " shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers

The Turkish war, June ;

17 Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before fun-set.

VOL. XII.

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"the city into your bands, I submit without a "murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge " of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is "my duty to live and die in the defence of my nople people." The fultan's answer was hostile and Septemdecifive: his fortifications were completed; and -19d before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that fhould pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian veffel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet. The mafter and thirty failors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the parte: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the historian Ducas " beheld; at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild bealts. The fiege of Constantinople was deferred till the enfuing fpring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Constantine. At this ara of calamity, one of these princes, the despot Thomas, was bleffed or afflicted with the birth of a fon; "the " last heir," fays the plaintive Phranza, " of the last spark of the Roman empire 19.33

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A. D. 1453, January 17.

Preparations for the fiege of Con-

The Greeks and the Turks paffed an anxious and sleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by his conqueft, or ignorant of the superior merits of Conflanti-

cluffor

¹⁸ Ducas, C. 35, Phranza (1. fii. c. 3.) who had failed in his veffel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyrautrof large

¹¹⁸ Auctum est Paleologonun genus, et Imperii fuccestor, parvæque Romanorum scintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, Liji. 18.71). The frong expression was inspired by his feelings ad sham c 35.) acknowledges and rediffes his own error.

the preparations of defence and attack; and the CHAP. pwb emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national stantifentiment. In Mahomet, that fentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper; he amufed his leifure with building at Adrianople the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watchtower of the world); but his ferious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Ceefar. At the dead of night, about the fecond watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The mellage, the hour, the prince, and his own fituation, alarmed the guilty confcience of Calil Basha who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the fon, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour pout the veteran flatefman was not infensible that he trod on a thin and flippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyse dilis friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had fligmatifed him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-

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nople, A. D. 1452, Septem-Sept GoA April 19d

> A.D 1453, January

Русрага. tions for the slege of Con-

Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The fultan was either doubtful of his conquest, or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. b A city or a lingdom may formefimes be fuined by the Imcommemorates the Venetungistevols rishtato anutrol lained

brother of the infidels 21; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence,

which was detected and punished after the con-

and surreposi by the prefident Confing is translated pere nourricier most correctly indeed from the Latin version but thehis hafte, he has everlooked the note by which I mael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

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LXVIII. سے

cannon of

CHAP, dufion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, haltened to the palace, adored the fultani and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the flight tribute of his duty and gratitude? Las It is "not my wish," faid Mahomet, "to refume my co gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on "thy head. In my turn I ask a present far more "valuable and important; Conftantinople." As foon as the vizir had recovered from his furprife, "the fame God," faid he, is who has "already given thee to large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant. the said the capital. His providence, and thy the rest of thy faithful flaves, will facrifice our "lives and fortunes." " Lala "," (or preceptor), continued the fultan, " do you fee this pillow? Wall the night, in my agitation, Dhave pulled it con one fide and the other; I have rifen from wimy bed, again have I lain down; yet fleep has somet wifited these weary eyes. Beware of the sigold and filver of the Romans blin arms we " caft a cannon capable of throwing a ball or

22 The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before 22 The Oriental cultom of never appearing without gifts being a fovereign or a superior, is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of facrifice, full more ancient and univerfall. See the examples of fuch Perlian gifts, Ælian, Hift. Var. l. i. c.

31, 32, 33. 19 The Lala of the Turke (Cantemir, p. 34.) and the Yala of the Greeks (Duess, chas), are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be observed, that all such primitive words which denote their parents, are the simple repetition of one fyllable, composed of a dabial or dental continuant and an open yowel (des Broffes, Mechanisme des Langues, tom. i. P. 231-24;-

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" are superior; and with the aid of Gods and CHAP the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become mafters of Constantinople." To found the disposition of his foldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone and in difguise: and it was fatal to discover the fultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were fpent in delineating the plan of the hostile city: in debating with his generals and engineers, on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which fide he should affault the walls; where he should fpring the mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders: and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night

Among the implements of destruction the The great fludied with peculiar care the recent and tremen- Mahomet. dous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery furpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service. deferted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish fultan. Mahomet was satisf fied with the affiwer to his first question, which he eagerly preffed on the artift "Am I able to " cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or " from of fufficient fize to batter the walls of "Conftantinople?" " I am not ignorant of their " strength, but were they more folid than those "of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of his "perior power "the polition and management of grage of children; and it may be observed, that all flich printing that surgers that offer the children that surgers with the children that the childr On this affurance a foundary was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the

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end of three months. Urban produced a piece of brais ordinance sof flupendous, banduplings incredible magnitude q a meafure of twelve palms te affigured to the bore shand the iftonerabillet weighed above fix handred pounds Str. A wacane place before the new palace was chosen for the fint experiment s butto prevent the fudden and mifchievous effects of altonishment and fear, a proclamation was iffued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was fele of heard in a circuit of an bundred furlones: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the foot where it fell it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame of carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of flaty oxen two handred men on both fides were flationed to poife and support the rolling weight now hundred and fifty workmen marched before to fmooth the way and repair the bridges; Sand near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles barlively philoforher states on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason.

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24 The Attic talent weighed about fixty mine, or averdupois pounds (fee Hooper on Amerent Weights, Meannes, Sector but among the modern Greeks, that claffic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five ball or from of the Account and the Republic of the Account Standard the Dardame Standard the Ruffiant, defer by g in taddom standard the Ruffiant, defer by g in taddoms standard.

ant 25 See Voltaire (Ifift. Generale, C. xcf. p. 204, 205.). He was a hibidious of univertal monarchy; and the poet frequently appires to the name and ftyle of an aftronomer, a chymin, ace aming Winte

that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanguished people an Hel calculates that a hall even of two hundred pounds, would require

a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of mowder; and that the froke would be feeble and impotento fince not a fifteenth part of the male could be inflamed at the fame moment. A ftranger as I amoto the art of destruction. I can difcern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the found, or even the confequence, of a fingle explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it feem improbable; that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. atA flone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powders at the distance of fix hundred vards it hivered into three rocky fragments. traversed the streight, and, leaving the waters in foam, again role and bounded against the op-, among the modern Greeks, that classic appellation hid silloud to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-live

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pounds (Ducange, Talayra); Leonardus Chienis meafured the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comig, frain his own prowefs, and the confernation of the Tunks, But that adventurous traveller does not poffers the art of to the name and flyle of an aftronomer, senshings two gnining

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Mahomet II. forms the fiege of Confiantinople,
A. D. 1453,
April 6.

While Maliother threatened the capital of the East! the Greek emperor implored with fervent Bravers the affiltance of earth and heaven But the invitible powers were deaf to his supplications to and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Conftantinople, while the derived at least fome promife of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the fultan of Egypt. Some flates were too weak, and others too remote siby forme the danger was confidered as imaginary, by others as inevitable the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrelss and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falfehood or oblinacy of the Greeks. Inflead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their and proaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophety. Perhaps he was fostened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the foundrons of Genoa and Venice could fail from their harbours Hong Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek Mands afe fedied a cold neutrality: the Gengele colony of Galatia negotiated a private treaty; and the fultan indulged them in the delufive hope, that by his clemency they might furvive the ruin of the emnum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized

²⁷ Non andivit, indignum ducens, fays the honest Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and assumed, we find the more courtly expression of Platina, in animo fulfic pontirci juvare Gracos, and the positive aftertion of Æneas Sylvius, structam classem, &c. (Spond. A. D. 1453, No.3.).

pire. To Al plebeian crowd, and fome Byzantine CHAB nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and referred for the Turks, the fecret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries " The indigent and folitary prince prepared however to fultain his for midable adverfary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest allerthe beginning of the fpring, the Turkifh vanguard fwept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever prefumed to refift was exterminated with fire and fword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria. Acheloum, and Bizon, furrendered on the first fummons; Selybria alone deserved the honours of a fiege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants. while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and fold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was filent and proftrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles and from thence advancing in battle array planted before the gate of St. Rol manus the imperial flandard; and, on the fixth indulged them in the delutive hope, that by his

II. forms the fiege · of Con--nimeft opie, AD 3453a April 6.

-AP Antonine in Proem - Epift Cardinal Hidor, apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance; on the golden caverns and TE we be The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns as to be a to be golden caverns.

and The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
and that wealth which, granted to their weeping priace,
aniver that ranged embattled nations at their cates.

day

the Turks;

Greeks

CHAP. day of April, formed the memorable fiege of the amount of three or four husdonithalifool

Forces of Sto The troops of Afia and Europe extended on the eight and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the fultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army inclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who refided in Greece about thirty years before the fiege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of fixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pufillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the Capiculi 29, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the found of the holy trumpet invited a fwarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the fwords of the Christians. whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by

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⁷⁹ The palatine troops are ftyled Capiculi, the provincials, Seratculia and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia enifted before the Canon Nameb of Soliman II. from which, and his own experience, count Marfigli has compafed his military Confiantinople, Leonardus Chienlis erigma namosto adtito; staft

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the Turks;

Ducasa Chalcocondyles, and bechard of Chios do C H & P. the amount of three or four hundred thousand lower. men: buit Phranza was a dels remote and more to approx accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty eight thousand does not exreed the measure of experience and probability. ?. The navy bof the beliegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty fail; but of thele no more than eighteen could be rated as gallies of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of floreflips and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople of the was fill peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but thele numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have fometimes exerted for the common fafety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has loft in fociety the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how

The oblervation of Philelphus is approved by Culphilan in the year 1508 (de Calaribus, in Epilog. de Militia Turcica, p. 697). Marigil proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that belieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chienfis reckons no more than er see Janizaries.

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CHAP, many of the citizens, or even of the monke were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lifts were intrusted to Phranza 314 and, after a diligent addition, the informed his to notice mafter, with grief and furprife, that the national sedured defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy Romans. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preferved; and a fufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets, was distributed from the arienal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani. a poble Genoele; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian veffels of war and merchandife; and the fhips of every Christian nation, that fuccessively are rived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public fervice. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of fixteen, miles was defended by a fearty garrifon of feven or eight thousands foldiers. Europe and Aha were open to the bed fiegers, but the firength and provilions of the The emperor faluted him as a friend and father

Fgo, eidem (Imp.) tabellas extribui non absque dolore et mofitia, manfitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, 1. ii. c. 3.). With some indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot define a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but in perfect the bullot of lamest all states are stated for of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36.37).

tering pirits was not printed till the year 1649.

Greeks must fustain a daily decrease; nor could Cut AIR they indulge the expectation of any foreign fuccountry . The hills were introlled tylegel to auos The primitive Romans would have drawn their

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fwords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animofity and difcord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins nor was the idea revived, till the diffress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and diffimulation 32. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the affurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the figns of repentance could not decently be overlooked; 2 legate was more eafily granted than an army; and about fix months before the final destruction.

Falfe union of the two churches. A.D. 1452, Dec. 12.

3 In Spondanus, the narrative of the upion is not only partial, but imperfect. The bilhop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the hiftory of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37.) with factor truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that

character with a retinue of priests and foldiers. The emperor faluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private fer-

mons ;

SHAP.

and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of facrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were folemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the fifth, the vibar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people well-vibar of the

Obstinacy and fanaticism of the Greeks.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror, that he confecrated a cake or wafer of unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the facrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occafional conformity 33. Their hafty and unconditional fubmission was palliated by a promise of future revifal; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, " Have patience," they whilpered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who " feeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azy " mites." But patience is not the attribute of lu furioully attacked at Confantinople, has tempted

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Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter frem duxility he affirms with pleasure, that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (1. isi. c. 20.).

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realist nor canothe arts of a count be adapted on CHAP the freedom and violence of popular enthylialing From the done of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either fex, and of every degree mushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius 34, to confule the oracle of the church. The holy man was in visible entranced, as it should feem, in deep me ditation or divine rapture; but he had exposed on the door of his cell, a fpeaking tablet and they successively withdrew after reading these tremendous words ? "O milerable Romans, why " will ve abandon the truth; and why, instead " of confiding in God, will we put your truft in the Italians? In lofing your faith, you will "lofe your city. Have mercy on me. O Lord! % I protest in thy presence, that I am innocent % of the crime. O miserable Romans, consider. Spaule, and repent. At the same moment that "you renounce the religion of your fathers, by th embracing impiety, you Tubmit to a foreign 16 fervitude 111 According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as demons, rejected the act of union! and abjured all communion with the prefent and future affociates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part

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leeks to devour us. You hall then perceive se feeks no devour us. he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Blorence, of the fame union which he fo furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric Bibliot Gree tom. x. p. 760-786.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343-383.) has reftored the identity of his person and the duplay in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace efient rafarrata sid do viio

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EXVIII.

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CHAP, of the clergy and people. From the monaftery. the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope; emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the hely Virgin; and belought her to defend against Mahomet, the city which she had formerly faved from Chofroes and the Chagan, In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for " fuccour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worthip of the Azymites !" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the feafon of Lent, the approach of Eafter, instead of breathing charity and love, ferved only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those, who had received the communion from a prieft, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His fervice at the alter propagated the infection to the mute and fimple fpectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the facerdotal character : nor was it lawful, even in danger of fudden death, to invoke the affiftance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin facrifice, than it was deferted as a Jewilh fynagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a valt and gloomy filence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had fo often Smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable 21

numerable lights, and relounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and insidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat 35. A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots, was familiar and satal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was familiar had their native cowardice was familiarly and their native cowardice was familiarly hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which compoles the figure of Conftantinople, the two fides along the fea were made inacceffible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the balls of the triangle, the land fide was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet? Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eve-witness, prolongs to the measure of fix miles 36, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the flege the Greek foldiers defoended into the the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the tynagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clause We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the werts of Russia, of 547 French logis, and of 7647 to a degree. The fix miles of Phranca of

Siege of Conftantinople by Mahomet II. A. D. 1453, April 6— May 29.

Vol. XII.

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dirch, or fallied into the field; but they foon diffe covered, that, in the proportion of their numbers. one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pufillanimity. The nation was indeed pulillanimous and base; but the last Conflantine deserves the name of an herd: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman vir tue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the henour of the Western chivalry. The incessant vollies of lances and arrows were accompanied with the fmoke, the found, and the fire, of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharge ed at the fame time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the fize of a walnut; and according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, feveral breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were foon funk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the frience of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in fize or number; and if they possessed fome heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, left the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion 37. The fame destructive teroslear an hundred years after the flege of Confrantinople, the

At indies doctiores noffri facti paravere contra hoftes machinamenta, que tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modice exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, fi aderant incommoditate loci

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fecret had been revealed to the Mollems; by CAAP. whom it was employed with the fuperior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude 30: the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it difcharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the fultan, we may difcern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than feven times in one day 39. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

primum hoftes offendere maceriebus alveisque tectos non poterant. Nam fiquæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noller, quiescebant. This passage of Leonardus Chiensis is curious and important.

According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burit; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artiff's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the fame gun.

Near an hundred years after the fiege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 thot in an engagement of two hours (Memoires de Martin du Bellay; It is in the Collection Generale, tom. xxi. p. 239.) Enzire hol erathorumouni tarraba il cobradino (collection ferila estation).

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CHAP. LXVIII. Attack and defence.

The first random shots were productive of more found than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the la lient angles of a baltion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made fome impreffion on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chafm, and to build a road to the affault 40. Innumerable fascines, and hogs heads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and fuch was the impetuolity of the throng. that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the beliegers; to clear away the rubbish, was the fafety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the foil was rocky; in every attempt he was flopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air 10 A circumftance that difsoftingain interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justi-

I have felected forte curious facts, without friving to emulate the bloody and obflinate eloquence of the abbé de Vertot, in his profix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to please the order, he has adopted the same spirit of cuthulialist and chivalry.

⁴¹ The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in MS. of George of Sienna (Thabolchi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324.).

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tinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the re- CHAP. union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering ram were directed against the fame walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superfeded the use of the liquid and unextinguish. able fire. A wooden turret of the largest fize was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; incessant vollies were fecurely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate fally and retreat of the foldiers and workmeni. They afcended by a stair-case to the upper platform; and, as high as the level of that platform, a fealing-ladder could be raifed by pullies to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance. fome as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks. the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned! after a fevere ftruggle, the Turks were repulfed from the breach and interrupted by dark. ness but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decifive success. Of this pause of acfrom this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniam, who paffed the night on the spot, and urged

They were first practised at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is alcribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hift de la Ligue de The first theory of mines with Sunpowder appears in 186

oftMS. of George of Sienna M hofeli, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324-1

e HAP. the glabours which cinvolved the fafety of the church and cityes Attathe dawnof day, the impatient fultan perceived, with aftonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to afther the ditch was cleared and reftored and the tower of St. Romanus was again frong and entire. He deplored the failure of his defigh; and uttered a prophane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-feven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that fuch a work, in fo hort a time, could have been accomplished by the five Christian ships continued to advanatohiric

Succour and victory of four fhips.

The generofity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a fiege, Conftantine had negociated, in the ifles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the molt indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five " great ships equipped for merchandife and war, would have failed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinatebe from the north ". One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoele; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with foldiers and mariners, for the fervice of

acknowledged, that if God had given them the 42 It is fingular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels; the five of Ducas, the four of Phranza and Leonardus, and the woo of Chalcocondyles, must be extended to the fmaller, or confined to larger, fize. Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III. confounds the emperors of the

may be observed in Rycaus (State of the Ostomache Month Ha. sanguage Joh, sonstongi slorg ni radiar, 19, sonside blod ni the and geography, the president Consin detains them at Chios with a fouth, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

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Pane

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the capitalist After a tedious delay, was gentle CHAP. breeze, and, for the fecond days in ftrong gale from the fourth carried themsthrough the Hellefpont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested too feab and land; and the Turkish deet. at the entrance of the Bofphorus, was firetched from those to thore, in the form of a crefcent to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts and a full prefs, both of fails and pars, against an hostile seet of three hundred veffels and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of squill most Europe and Afia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous fuccour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the fuperiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy, had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the fultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the fea to the infidels " and a feries of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has tto the fmaller, or confined to larger, fixe. Voltaire, in giving

Succour

and vic-

tory of

and 44 The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkin have, may be observed in Rycaut (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372 378.), Thevenot (Voyages, P. 7. p. 229-242.), and Tott (Memoires, tom! in y; the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse with a touth, and wafts them to Confrantishask sin skamanbaish

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LXVIII.

CHAP established the truth of their modest donfessions Except eighteen gallies of fome force, the roll of their fleet confifted of lopen boats, mudely const firected and awkwardly managed crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and, fince courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five flout and lofty thips were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practifed in the arts and perils of the fea. Their weight was directed to fink or fcatter the weak obstacles that impeded their pasfage: their artillery fwept the waters: their liquid fire was pouted on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the defign of boarding, prefumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the fide of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial veffel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulled with confiderable lofs. Mahomet, himself fat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promife of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his foul, and even the gestures of his body 43, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into

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According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas supply gaisificant says vm sroted exchibit and the says vm sroted exchibit and the says vm srotes and says vm srotes says vm srotes and says vm srotes and says vm srotes says vm srotes and says vm srotes says v which Thucydides (1, vii, c, 71,) has drawn of the passions and genures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great hard bour of Syracule. bruife the back of his admiral.

OF THE ROMANIBMPIRET

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the seamp, surged the Ottomans to a third at Living tack, more fatal and bloody than the two former di and I musto repeate though be cannot beredit the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they loft above twelve thousand men in the flaughter of the day. They fled in different to the thores of Europe and Afia, while the Christ tion foundron, triumphant and unhurt, heefed along the Bosphorus, and fecurely anchored with in the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boafted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the defpotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a fufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and fervices were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four flaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod to his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the fultan, who was fatisfied with the milder punishment of confilcation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of d impotent effort into

⁴⁶ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (e. 18.), this golden but was of the chormons and incredible weight of soo fibre; or pounds. Bouflland's reading of 500 drachms or five pounds, is fufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet, and bruife the back of his admiral.

E HAP. the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deferts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crufades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the fituation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and proderate armament of the maritime states might have faved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the fole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambaffador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, refided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the foltan 47 bas : bernoved that edit gaied To ruov

transports his navy over land.

harbour

Mahomet to It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the fecret of the divan; yet the Greeks are perfuaded, that a refistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the fiege would have been speedily raised if the ambition and jealousy of the fecond vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a fecret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unlefs a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour

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⁴⁷ Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, affigns a motive of fuperflition, a fatal belief that Con-Rantinople would be the term of the Turkifle conquells. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20.) and Spondanus, viivily and mort

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was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now C HAP. defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller fize, with several gallies and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval fally, and a fecond encounter in the open fea. In this perplexity, the renius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter veffels and military flores from the Bolohorus into the higher part of the harbour. The diffance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and. as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free paffage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But thefe felfish merchants were ambitious of the fayour of being the last devoured; and the deeficiency of gart was supplied by the strength of smodali bedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of ftrong and folid planks; and to render them more flippery and fmooth, they were and inted with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourfcore light gallies and brigantines of fifty and thirty bars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pullies. Two guides or pilots were flationed at the helmy and the prow, of each veffel; the fails were unfurled to the winds in and the labour was cheered by fong and acclamation. In the courfe of a fingle night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hills freered over the plain; and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the 8697 harbour.

Arcfe of

CHAIP. harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper veffels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired to but the now torious, unquestionable, fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens of the two nations 48. A fimilar stratagem had been repeatedly practiled by the ancients "; the Ottoman gallies (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boafted miracle 10 has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times and As foon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads; joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a folid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourfcore gallies, with troops

> The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96.) from the Turkish annals: but I could wish to contract the distance of ten miles, and to prolong the term of

> 149 Phranza relates two examples of a fimilar transportation over the fix miles of the Ithmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Action; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the art century. To these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hanmbal, to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, I. viii. p. 749, edit. Gronov.).

50 A Greek of Candia, who had ferved the Venetians in a fimilar andertaking (Spand, A. D. 1438, No 37-30 wight posibly)

be the adviter and agent of Mahomet.

51 I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1775 and 1777, fo great in the labour, for fruitless in the event. cowardice.

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and fealing ladders, approached the most accessible CHAP fide, which had formerly been fromed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire was controlled and filenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the veffels as well as the bridge of the fultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were funk or taken; forty youths, the bravelt of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command a nor could the emperor's grief be affuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and hixty Musulman captives. After a fiege of the city. forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrifon was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were difmantled on all fides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promile of a fourfold restitution; and his facrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genbele and Venetian auxiliaries afferted the pre-eminence of their refpective fervice; and Justinianiand the great duke whose ambition was not extinguished by the coinmondanger, accused each other of treachery and trafflels in the event. cowardice. and During

CHAP. Preparations of the Turks for the general affault, May 26.

During the fiege of Conftantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been fometimes pronounced; and feveral embaffies had paffel between the camp and the city " in The Greek emperor was humbled by advertity hand would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish fultan was defirous of fparing the blood of his foldiers; ftill more de firous of fecuring for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a facred duty in presenting to the Gabours, the choice of circums cifion, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been fatisfied with an annual fum of one hundred thousand ducats: butsthis ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a fafe departure; but after fome fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A fense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to refign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the fultan in the preparations of the affault and a respite was granted by his favourite science of aftrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. A On the evening of the twenty-feventh, he ished his final affembled in his prefence the military

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Calendrier, p. 73.), which Manomet had fludied, a That of the Chalcocopy of the saud bas saud ces of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious non falatany the faithful Phranza fpares his prince even the thought of & turrender. . א פארופו שליש שנוש מנושלמו במוצאצמיו אמא יבו.

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May ab.

chiefs; and difperfed his heralds through the CHAP camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous enterprife. Fear is the first principle of a defpotic government and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deferters, had they the wings of a bird 5 flould not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and lanizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by fuccessive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the fpirit of a legion, a regiment, or an oda, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare. the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with feven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the enhing day A crowd of dervishes visited the tents

finding cither a throne, or a grave, under 53 These wings (Chalcocondyles, I. wii. p. 208.) are no more han an oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's puffion foars above fense and reason :

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings, 1 20201 Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,

And feat him in the Pleiads golden chariot-

beyo Thence thould my fury drag him down to tortures.

Belides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe, r. That the operation of the winds must be confined to the lower region of the ar. . That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purgly Greek (Scholiaft ad Homer, z. 686. Eudocia in Ionia, Bri 19 (Apolloddr. 4: ili. Caro. Heine, p. 229. Not. 682.) had no affinity with the astronomy of the East (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Differt, tom. i. p. 40. 42. Goguet.
Origine des Arts, cec. tom. vi. p. 73-78. Gebelin, Hift. du Calendrier, p. 73.), which Mahomet had studied. 3. The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has confounded the Pletads with the great bear waggon, the zodiac with a northern constellation: . 19609744

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LAVID.

CHAP. to infall the defire of martyrdom, and the affurance of fpending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradife, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally srufted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promifed to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," faid Mahomet, are mine: but I refign to your "valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures " of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the " intrepid foldier who first ascends the walls of "Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the segovernment of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Mollem shouts of, "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God ";" and the fea and land, from Galata to the feven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Laft farewel of the emperor and the Greeks.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their lins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been expoled in folemn procession; but their divine patronels was deaf to their intreaties othey accufed the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a

A Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

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Greeks.

timely furrender; anticipated the horrors of their CHAP fate; and fighed for the repole and fecurity of UNVIII. Turkish fervisude The noblest of the Greeks. and the brayest of the allies, were fummoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general affault. b. The last speech of Palacologus was the funeral cration of the Roman empire? he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his gwn minday In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall hin the fervice of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a flege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza. who was himfelf present at this mournful affembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station. maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a sale loss mosch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the facrament of the holy communion. He repoled fome moments in the palace, which

. Is I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grolly of the fermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. heonardus affigns him another fpeech, in which he address himthe same of God, besimilities aith the Latin auditaries , bod to same add

refounded Vol. XII.

SEAR.

resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured "; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

The general affault, May 29.

In the confusion of darkness an affailant may fometimes fucceed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and aftrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level paffage to the breach; and his fourfcore gallies almost touched with the prows and their fcaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, filence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and found are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thoufands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of diffonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary fignal of the morning gun, the Turks affaulted the city by fea and land; and valours he was furrounded by ten thouland of

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from dying princes, is an improvement of the gofpel doctrine of the dorgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive ago times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

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the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has CHAP. been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack 57. The foremost ranks confifted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the flain; they fupported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more ferviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and fanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were fuccessively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his foldiers to atchieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The fultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of so This abefement, which devotion has functiones extorted

⁵⁷ Besides the 10,000 guards, and the failors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general affault 250,000 Turks, both horse than once to aik pardon of an inferior. and foot.

C. H. A.P. his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decifive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to reftrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of founds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all fides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final del liverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The fingle combats of the heroes of history or fable, amuse our fancy and engage our affections? the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though permicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general affault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene, of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any jult of adequate idea. another to

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be afteribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The fight of his

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blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage CHAP. of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his slight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable iemperor. Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, is flight; the danger is preffing; your prefence "is nedeffary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," faid the trembling Genoele "by the fame road which God has opened to the "Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pufillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he furvived in Galata, or the ifle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach 58 His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to flacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians: the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably loft. The first

who

The levere centure of the flight of Jultiniani, Phranza expresses his cown feelings, and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chients express his strong and recent adignation, glorize faktos strique oblitus. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

E H A P. LXVIII.

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who deferved the fultan's reward was Haffan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his feymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he afcended the outward fortification : of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Haffan and his twelve companions had reached the fummit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his fuccess had proved that the atchievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a fwarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by encreasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor ", who accomplished all the duties of a general and a foldier, was long feen, and finally loft. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained till their last breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head 60?" and his last fear was that of fal-

59 Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish folders; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise image of his death; but we may, without stattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:

And where they find a mountain of the flain as a superior of the flain as a

There they will find him at his manly length, a moduled algorith. With his face up to heaven, in that red monument of the Arabeta and word had digged. Arabeta to the Arabeta and word had digged.

for spondanus (A. D. 1453, No 10.), who has hopes of his falva-

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line alive into the hands of the infidels ". The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the flain. After his death, refistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were preffed and stifled in the narrow pals of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were foon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the fide of the harbour 62. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the fword; but avarice foon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a fimilar oppofition in every part of the capital. It was thus, Loss of the after a fiege of fifty-three days, that Constanti- empire. nople, which had defied the power of Chofroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors. 63,

LXVIII Death of the emperor Constantine Palæologus.

61 Leonardus Chienlis very properly observes, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to fave and fecure a captive fo acceptable to the fultan, and w both

62 Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian thips in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

63 Chalcocondyles most absurdly supposes, that Constantinople was facked by the Afiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvih century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more clashear name of Teucri.

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THE DECLINE AND FALLO

The Turks enter and pillage Conftantinople.

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The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing yet fuch was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong some moments the happy ignorance of their ruin ? But in the general consternation, in the feelings of felfish or focial anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the affault, a fleepless night and morning must have elapfed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a found and tranquil flumber. On the affurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakness could be productive of firength, or in the valid hope, that amid the crowd, each individual might be fafe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and hulbands, of women and children, of priefts, monks, and feligious virgins: the doors were barred on the infide, and they fought protection from the facred dome, which they had fo lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusialt or impostor; that one day the Turks would enter Con-

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⁶⁴ When Cyrus furprifed Babylon during the celebration of a festival, fo vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, L.i. c. 191.), and Usher (Annal. p. 78.), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import. adorn; the tale of their milery of among

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fantinople, and purfue the Romans as far asothe CHAIP column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia to but that this would be the term of their calamities in that an angel would descend from heaven with a fword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon to appoor man feated at the foot of the column. "Take this fword," would he fay, " and avenge Withe people of the Lord " At these animating words, the Turks would infantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Perffactelt is on this occasion, that Ducase with fome fanny and much truth, upbraids the disord and obstinacy of the Greeks. " Had that "dangel appeared," exclaims the historian, " had "she offered to exterminate your foes if you "would confent to the union of the church. "ieven then, in that fatal moment, you would Shave rejected your fafety or have deceived your with the multitudes of lathers and hullishbod of

While they expected the descent of the tardy Captivity angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as of the the Turks encountered no refistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners, Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided

of This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.), who two years afterwards was fent ambaffador from the prince of Lefe bos to the fultano (c. 44) Till Lefbos Iwas fubdued im raft (Phranza, 1, hi) o. 27.), that ifland must have been full of the few gitives of Conftantinople; who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their mifery. among Stantinopie,

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CHAP. among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The fenators were linked with their flaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the fun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of fociety were confounded: the ties of nature were cut afunder; and the inexorable foldier was carelefs of the father's groans. the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair: and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercifed in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any place, however facred or fequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above fixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or fold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote fervitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire,

empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal fecretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After fuffering four months the hardships of flavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ranfomed his wife from the mir bafbi or master of the horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been feized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the feraglio, perhaps a virgin: his fon, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover 66. A deed thus inhuman, cannot furely be expiated by the tafte and liberality with which he releafed a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family 67. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most fensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit ". ouries thatler rapine was exer-

⁶⁶ See Phranza, I, iii. c. 20, 21. His expressions are positive: Ameras sua manu jugulavit volebat enim eo turpiter et netarie abuti. Me miserum et inselicem. Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the seraglio.

⁶⁷ See Traboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 290.) and Lancelot (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often revies as the most corrupt and instrument of tyrants.

off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought

LXVIII. was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandife and war. They had fignalifed their valouring the fiege; they embraced the moment of retreative while the Turkish mariners were diffipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoifted fail the beach was covered with a suppliant and lament able crowd: but the means of transportation were fcanty: the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promiles of the fultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most this fum a finall part was the properties audicin

Amount of the spoil.

In the fall and the fack of great cities, an hifterian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the fame passions; and when these passions may be indulged without controll, fmall, alas lis the difference between civilized and lavage main Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood : but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were for feited; and the degitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the fervice, the fale, or the ranfom, of his captives of both fexes ? The

and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (lays Spondanus, A. D. 1453, No 15.) in his own letters, left he should lose the merit and reward of fulfering for Chinit.

Bulbequius expanates with pleasure and applante on the rights of war, and the use of havery, among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat. Turcica, epift. in. p. 161. jauning ant ase

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Amount of the

wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the CHAP. fultan to his victorious troops d hand the rapine LXVIII. of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were folen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battlet The narrative of their depredations could not af ford either amulement or instruction: the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats 70; and of this fum a fmall part was the property of the Venenans, the Genocle, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the flock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation : but the riches of the Greeks were diff played in the idle oftentation of palaces and ward robes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, left it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profama tion and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia diffelf, the earthly heaven, the fee cond firmaments the vehicle of the cherubinal the throne of the glory of God3, was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and filver,

⁷⁹ This fum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavins Chalcocondyles, I. viii, p. 211.), but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one-fourth.

⁷¹ See the enthunaftic praises and lamentations of Phranza (Lii. C. 17.).

LXVIII.

Mahonies

the palace.

CHAP, the pearls and jewels, the vafes and facer dotal orna. ments, were most wickedly converted to the few vice of mankind After the divine images had been feripped of all that could be valuable to profane eve, the canvass, or the wood, was torn. or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or and plied, in the stables, or the kitchen, to the vitest St. Sophia, uses. The example of facrilege was imitated however from the Latin conquerors of Constant tinople: and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the faints, had fultained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Mufulman on the monuments of idolatry. Per haps, instead of joining the public clamour, a phis losopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would fpeedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more feriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are faid to have difappeared 12; ten volumes might be purchased for a fingle ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleafure, that an inestimable portion of our classic

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⁷² See Ducas (c. 43.), and an epiffle, July 13th, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Gracis, p. 192. from a MS. in the Cotton library).

treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that OHAP the mechanics of a German town had invented, an art which derides the havoc of time and barbeen fripped of all that could be valuablening



From the first hour 73 of the memorable twenty- Mahomet ninth of May, diforder and rapine prevailed in the city, Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same St. Sophia, day; when the fultan himself passed in triumph &c. through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (fays a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dextrous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any iten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror 24 gazed with fatisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, fo diffimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or atmeidan, his eye was attracted by the twifted column of the three ferpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-ax the under-jaw of one of these monsters?5, which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talifmans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome: and fuch was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on

The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from fun-rife.

the whole works of Ariffolds and Homer, the

74 See the Purkish Annals, p. 329. and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

If I have had occasion (vol. iii. p. 22.) to mention this curious Plantes Onirings to pope Micholas V. (vippingariage of Graciago and Proping of Contract of

fignivisido the Cutton library)

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CHAP.

observing a zealous Musulman in the act of break. ing the marble pavement, he admonished him with his feymetar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the foldiers, the public and private buildings had been referved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the enfuing Friday, the muezin or crier ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the ezan, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the second performed the namaz of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæfars 76. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate, manfion of an hundred fuccessors of the great Constantine; but which in a few hours had been ftripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the viciflitudes of human greatness, forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: " The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and the

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⁷⁶ We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102.) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

owl hath fung her watch-fong on the towers of CHAP. " Afrasiab "7."

Yet his mind was not fatisfied, nor did the His bevictory feem complete, till he was informed of the to the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or Greeks. been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under an heap of flain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes: the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy 78, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke 79, and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, " And " why," faid the indignant fultan, " did you not " employ these treasures in the defence of your " prince and country?" " They were yours," answered the slave, " God had reserved them for " your hands." " If he referved them for me,"

77 This diftich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the fack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The fame generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

78 I cannot believe with Ducas (see Spondanus, A. D. 1453) No 13.), that Mahomet fent round Persia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor: he would furely content himself with a

trophy less inhuman.

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79 Phranza was the perfonal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of fympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

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C.H.A.P. replied the despon, "how have you presumed to " with-hold them fo long by a fruitless and fatal "refistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizit; and from this perilous interview, he was at length dismissed with the affurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his confolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A fimilar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom feveral were ranfomed at his expence; and during fome days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed: and before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two fons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropt an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian fuccour: fuch treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited, his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious fultan feturned to Adrianople; and fmiled at the bale and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed vils5 1 their

their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern CHAP. " with hold them fo long by a fruitles and figne

Constantinople had been left naked and de. He repeofolate, without a prince or a people. But the adorns could not be despoiled of the incomparable fitual Conftantion which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and forfune. Bourfa and Adrianople, the ancient feats of the Ottomans, funk into provincial towns: and Mahomet the second established his own refidence, and that of his fuccessors, on the same commanding fpot which had been chosen by Confantine so. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently defroyed; But the damage of the Turkish cannon was foon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the foil and buildings. whether public or private, or profane or facred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first feparated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury; that the grand figner (as he has been emphatibut the rubel who bravely ventures, that juffly

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So For the reflitution of Constantinople and the Turkish found dations, see Cantemir (p. 102-109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c. of Constantimople and the Ottoman empire (Abregé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16-21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moslems were lefs numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even embashes of the Christian princes, who sweled

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CHAP.

cally named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Afia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the infults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a mosch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and furrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The fame model was imitated in the jami or royal moschs; and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himfelf, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was reyealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the new fultans are girded with the fword of empire ". Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish maiters; the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects: but his rational policy aspired to collect 8 From the Turco-Greeia of Critius, &c. Spondanus (A.

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feilbed and engraved in the Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306.).

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the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in CHAP. crowds as foon as they were affured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of fatilfaction and horror, they beheld the fultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crofier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclefiaftical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the feraglio, prefented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence . The churches of Conftantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and. till it was infringed by Selim the grandfon of Mahomet, the Greeks 83 enjoyed above fixty years the benefit of this equal partition, Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to clude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates prefumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generofity, but of justice;

sa Phranza (I, iii. c. 19.) relates the eeremony, which has polyfibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the History of the Patriarchs after the taking of Confrantinoptey inserted in the Turco Coracia of Crustus (1. y. p. 106-184.) But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas que mini donavit imperium te in patriarcham nova Roma deligit."

³³ From the Turco-Græcia of Crufius, &c. Spondanus (A. D. 1953, No 27. 1948, No 167) describes the flavory and domestic quartels of the Greek church of The patriarch who fucceded Gennadius, threw himself in despair into a well, and paradius of the Research most

CHAP not a concession, but a compact and that if one malfrioff the city had been taken by afterminthe other moiety had furrendered on the faith of a facred capitalation. of The original grant had indeed been confumed by fire : but the dols was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction mand their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the politive and unanimous confent of the history of the times that all young to domest me

of the Im-perial families of Comnenus ologus.

Extinction to The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Afia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two and Palæ- last dynasties 35 which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas 186, the two furviving brothers of the name of Pal molocus, jured Greeks were heard with indifference and

> 84 Cantemir (p. 101-105.) infifts on the unanimous confent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, fince it is effected more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But, r. I doubt this consent, fince he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Conflantinople per vim (p. 329.). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and falutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual,

> prefers the Turks to the Christians. The Viborages want as For the genealogy and fall of the Commeni of Trebizond, fee Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 195.); for the last Palæologi, the fame accurate antiquarian (p. 244, 247, 248.) The Palzologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

> 86 In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (li iii co 21-30.) is too partial on the fide of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (1. viii, ix, x.) too diffuse and digreffive.

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were aftonished by the death of the emperor Con- c HA Pfantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeles of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to feek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious fultan, who contented himfelf with a tribute of twelve thousand ducates and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in fearch of prey, he indulged the Morea in a refpite of feven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The bexamilion, the rampart of the Ishmus, to often raifed and to and some often subverted, could not long be defended by slid bas three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were feized by the Turks: they returned from their fummer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninfula with rapine and murder; the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity. could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and fword: the alms and fuccours of the West were confumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in favage and arbitrary execu-R 4 51977

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LXVIII. Morea, 1460 pil

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CHAP tions The diffres and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lords and in the feafon of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irrefiltible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, " You are too "weak," faid the fultan, "to control this turbulent province : I will take your daughter to " my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in fecurity and honour." Demetrius fighed and obeyed; furrendered his daughter and his caftles; followed to Adrianople his fovereign and fon; and received for his own maintenance. and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent ifles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea 87. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who prefumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond 34 and the negociation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life

> 7 See the lofs or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (f. ix. p. 263-266.), Ducas (c. 45), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 107.).

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⁸⁸ Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179.) speaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyffonel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72. and for the province, p. 53-90.). Its profperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two odgs of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Memoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17.).

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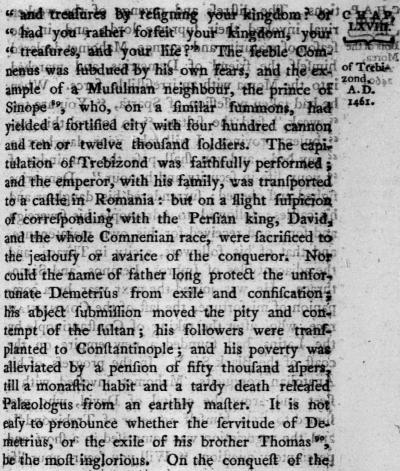
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19 Ifmael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. l. ix. p. 258, 259.). Peysionel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100.) alcribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account feems enormous: yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and

99 Spondanus from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. 1. v.) relates the

Morea,



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CHAP. Morea, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with fome naked adherents : his name. his fufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatiean; and his mifery was prolonged by a pension of fix thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two fons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burthensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his fole inheritance; and that inheritance he fuccessively fold to the kings of France and Arragon 91. During his transient prosperity, Charles the eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of Augustus: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled at the approach of the French chivalry 92. Manuel Palæologus, the fecond fon, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at a callle on his back; a matron in a mourning

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^{9.} By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6. and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the defpot Andrew Palæologus, referving the Morea, and stipulating fome private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, No 2.). M. de Foncemagne (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539-578.) has bestowed a differtation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from

⁹² See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14.), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, 60 miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was faved by the policy of Venice.

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Conflantinople

Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended
him to the grave. If there be some animals of so
generous a nature that they refuse to propagate
in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race
must be ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted
from the sultan's liberality two beautiful semales;
and his surviving son was lost in the habit and
religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire: and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or feemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crufades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lifle in Flanders, an affembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings ? In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a castle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the fymbol of religion, was feen to iffue from the castle: she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bear-

Grief and terror of Europe, A. D. 1453-

⁹¹ See the original feaft in Olivier de la Marche (Memoires, P. 1. c. 29, 30.), with the abstract and observations of M. de Sce Palaye (Memoires fur la Chevalerie, tom. i, P. iii. p. 182-185.). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished at royal birds.

LXWILL

CHAP ing on his fift a live pheafant, which according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary fummons, Philip, a wife and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the affembly; they fwore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the pheafant; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general fanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be fcrupulously, and perhaps fincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breaft glowed with the fame ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden of to Naples, fupplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chafed beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the fecretary of the emperor, who compoled every epiftle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius 95, a statesman and

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H was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and confequently were far more populous than at prefent in an aut

²⁵ In the year 1454 Spondanus has given, from Eneas Sylvius, a view of the tate of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the feries of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter but us or bendrator,

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orator, describes from his own experience the see CHAR. pugnant flate and fpirit of Christendom. " It is a body, fays he, without an head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the " emperor may thine as lotty titles, as fplendid " images; but they are unable to command, and "none are willing to obey: every flate has a fe-parate prince, and every prince has a separate " interest. What eloquence could unite fo many " discordant and hostile powers under the lame " flandard? Could they be affembled in arms, " who would dare to assume the office of ge-" neral? What order could be maintained?what military discipline? Who would under-" take to feed fuch an enormous multitude? " Who would understand their various languages, " or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the Eng-" lish with the French, Genoa with Arragon, " the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the " holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight and con-"fusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he was raised to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the fecond, devoted his life to the profecution of the Turkith war. In the council of Mantua he excited fome fparks of a falle or feeble enthusiasim; but when the pontiss appeared at Ancona to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective

LXVIII.

CHAP. army confitted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and Regardless of futurity, his fuccessors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of prefent and domestic ambition ; and the diftance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians, might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The fiege and fack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the fform was inflantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the fecond, in the fifty-first year of his age 96. His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was posfessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the fame reign might have been decorated

Death of Mahomet II. A. D. 1481, May 3, or July 2.

> 96 Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (Istoria Civile, tom. iii. p. 449-455.) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II, I have occasionally used the Memorie Istoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4to). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her dispatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in fense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only feventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69-140.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

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alms. Regardlefs of futurity, his fuccesfors and 97 As I am now taking an everlafting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians, were confined to the claffics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine feries (xxxvi volumes in folio) has gradually iffued (A. D. 1648, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1720), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c. is enhanced by the higorical notes of Charles du Freine du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Gloffary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the Familiæ Byzantinæ, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Alps: when the florm was sinitand ariques revol

by ther teach of Mahonset the lecond, fifty-first year of his age to Alis tofty genius afpired to: the conquelt of lealy; he was pol-May 3, or felled of a fireng city and a capacious harbour; and the fame room might bays been decorated

Death of Manonact, A. D .. erger.

July 2.



margaleria siriofff) Aemorie Ittoriche de eder (Venezia, 1627, in (b) langues and was the Turks have ever engaged the atrepublic of Venice. All her diffratches and sirchives were over to's prounted of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contempliable estiler in limit on figle. Yet he too bitterly hates the liabilets, he is ignorant of their language and manners; and he narrative, belief allows only feventy pages ate Mahomet II. (p. 69-140.), becomes more copious and au-Thentic as he approaches the years to go and to the term of the

hilloric labours of John Sagredo-

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LXIX

been already ftripped of her trophies, her gods, CHAIP. and her Caefars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greekexixal the Pethal Century of the

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. Temporal Dominion of the Popes. Seditions of the City. Political Herely of Arnold of Brescia - Restoration of the Republic .- The Senators .- Pride of the Romans .- Their Wars .- They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Papes, who ratire to Avignon.—The Jubilee.—Noble Families of Rome. - Feud of the Colonna and Urfini.

CHAP. LXIX. State and revolutions of

Rome, A. D. TIOS-3500.

TN the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairelt portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces, they are confidered as fo many branches which have been fuccessively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the hiltorian to follow the fuccessors of Constantine; and our curiofity has been tempted to vifit the most remote countries of Europe and Afia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquelts of Julian nian, we have been recalled to the banks of the" Tyber, to the deliverance of the ancient metro polis; but that deliverance was a change, lored perhaps an aggravation, of fervitude. Rome had

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State and -ulover

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been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, CHAP. and her Cæfars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks In the eighth century of the Christian æra, a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to affert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people: and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image fill decorate the fingular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the fame : the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismise the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms. follow the faccetions of Cauffan

The Abbe Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Mentesquien, has afferted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians.

To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is leavest than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in the follows the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the foil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (Reflexions fur la Poefie et sur la Peinture, that deliverance was a damped licher

perreps an aggravation, of fervitude. Mixingly and .

The French and German emperors of Rome,
A. D. 800—
\$100.

In the beginning of the twelfth century? the æra of the first crufade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours. and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After fo long an interruption, it may not be ufeless to repeat that the fucceffors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that thefe princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to feek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber 3. At some distance from the city, their approach was faluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and croffes; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the flairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the

² The reader has been to long abtent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or review the xlixth chapter, in the ixth volume of this History.

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The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (Antiquitat Italia medil Bvi, tomolofisertat, ii. p. 99, &c.), and Cenni (Monument Domin, Pontistom, ii. district, p. 2611), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (Hist, des Allemands, tom lin, p. 255—266.).

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coronation was performed by his fucceffor : the CHAP. voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public confent was declared in the acclamations of, " Long life and victory to "our lord the pope! Long life and victory to " our lord the emperor! Long life and victory " to the Roman and Teutonic armies "!" The names of Cæfar and Augustus, the laws of Confantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins; and their jurifdiction was marked by the fword of justice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Cæfars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone fecures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of fervitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vaffals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly dif-

4 Exercitui Romano et Teutonico! The latter was both feen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

recoilect or review the xlixtn chapter, in the inth

Muratori has given the feries of the papal coins (Antiquitat. tom. ii. diff. xxvii. p. 548-554.). He finds only two more early than the year 8000 fifty are ftill extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II. Abut in those of Paichal II. he feems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

C HAP: turbed by the clamour and fedition of the Romans. who encountered their fovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was infulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial fovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Authority of the popes in Rome,

from affection ;

Of her two fovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the foft, though more folid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his slock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclefiaftical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the fuffrage of the Romans. The fame fuffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was univerfally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were fatisfied with difputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries: and the fabulous origin was loft in the real and permanent effects. The Mising

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The name of Dominus or Lord was inscribed on CHAP. the coin of the bishops: their title was acknow. LXIX ledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, right; and with the free, or reluctant, confent of the German Cæfars, they had long exercifed a fupreme or fubordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still Authority nobler fource of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the herefy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the roval and facerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of paradife would be the furest pledge of earthly obedience. The fanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scan-virtue; dals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the feventh and his fucceffors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their fufferings or their fuccess must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They fometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of perfecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom, must engage the favour and fympathy of every Catholic breaft. And fometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world : nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest, 301

benefits.

Inconfigura

c n A P. prieft, whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the fucceffors of Charlemagne Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the relidence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subfishence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by facrilegious hands; nor could the lofs be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the inceffant and encreasing fwarms of pilgrims and fuppliants: the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclefiaftical and fecular caufes. A new jurifprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals 7; and, from the north and west, the bishops and abbots were invited or fummoned to folicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of

> 5 See Ducange, Gloff. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. tom. vi. p. 364, 365. STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to arch-Bilhops, and by vaffals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262.); and it was the nicest policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

> 7 The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff, are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (de Consideratione, Liii. tom. ii, p. 431-442. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750) and the judgment of Fleury (Difcours fur l'Hist. Ecclesiastique, iv. & vii,). But the faint, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals; the more enlightened historian investigates the origin, and rejects the principles, of this new jurisprudence. porance are always definite

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the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, CHAP that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and filver : but it was foon understood. that the fuceels, both of the pilgrims and chients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were oftentatiously displayed; and their expences, facred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans. misis edit with the chain . sman and alott

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Such powerful motives should have firmly Inconstanattached the voluntary and pious obedience of perfition. the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the fallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit', and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the fame impulse of favage nature, which overlooks the future in the prefent, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and fecure pofferfion of the most important blessings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans; who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without policy of Rome, to confound the marks

8 Germanici fummariì non levatis farcinis onusti nihillominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum confilio id ufurpatum non credimus (Bernard de Confideratione, l. iii. c. 3. p. 437.). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

9 Quand les fauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voila le gouvernement despotique (Esprit des Loix, l. v. c. 13.); and passion and

ignorance are always despotic.

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computing the number and value of fimilar vifits. which they prevented by their inhospitable facrilege. Evenithe influence of fuperstition is fluctuating and precarious and the flave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood, most powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian : vet fuch a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to fense, of facrificing to a distant motive. to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or fickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to fatisfy the double debt of piety and remorfe. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference, are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind, The wealth, whose constant encrease must have rendered them the fole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious fon: their persons were adored or violated; and the fame idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans difdained perpetrated

Seditions of Rome against the popes. dained the woke, and infulted the impotence, of OHAP. their bishop this mor would this reducation or character allow him to exercife with decency lon effect, the power of the fwording The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were expofed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and bis decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philofophic historian: "Though the name and aux "thority of the court of Rome were fo terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were "funk in profound ignorance, and were entirely " unacquainted with its character and conduct, " the pope was fo little revered at home, that his " inveterate enemies furrounded the gates of "Rome itself, and even controlled his govern-" ment in that city; and the ambaffadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to 5 him the humble, or rather abject, submissions " of the greatest potentate of the age, found the " utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and " to throw themselves at his feet "." disaw.

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10 In a free convertation with his countryman Adrian IV. John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy: Provinciarum deripiunt spolia, ac si thesauros Croesi studeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altissimus, quoniam et ipsi aliis et fæpe vilissimis hominibus dati sunt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, 1. vi. c. 24. p. 387.). In the next page, he blames the rashness and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly firove to conciliate by gifts, instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times. I let adi alium

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Hume's Hiftory of England, vol. i. p. 419. The fame writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a fingular act of cruelty perpetrated

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Succeffors of Gregory VII. 1086-1305.

CHAP. Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to oppofition, and their perfons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown encreased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Chibelines, fo fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the fubiects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was folicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the feventh, who may be adored or detelted as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his fucceffors ", till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the folemn rites of religion, were polluted with fedition and murder. A repetition 13 of fuch ca-Billiu bite apricious

> perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. When he was mafter of Normandy, the chapter of Seez pre-" fumed, without his confent, to proceed to the election of a bishop: upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop " elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought " him in a platter." Of the pain and danger they might juftly complain; yet, fince they had vowed chaftity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure. H. about anotherne bus yranihvo yest

> 12 From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Pifanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inferted in the Italian Historians of Muratori (tom. iii. P. i. p. 277-685.), and has been always before my eyes.

> 13 The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter be understood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, ym filmi libilans, ci ab imis počtoribus

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pricious brutality, without connection or defign, CHAP. would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myfelf with some events of the twelfth century, which reprefent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal of Paschal II. ficiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His filence exasperated their fury: his pious refufal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he fhould be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice affaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with vollies of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by fuffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of his succeffor Gelasius the second were still more feandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani ', a potent and factious baron, burst into adding in a platter." Of the pale and danger they might juftly

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Gelafius A. D. 1118. 1119.

my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a mafter, his great Collection of the Italian Historians, in xxviii, volumes; and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to confult the originals, (188-190 to 191 tis mot) motoruM to ensired

14 I cannot refrain from transcribing the high-coloured words of Pandulphus Pifanus (p. 384.): Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajapane, more draconis immamissimi sibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa suspiria, acciactus

LXIX.

I EAPE 1145 --

CHAP. the affembly furious and in arms to the cardinals were ftripped, beaten, and trampled under foot: and he feized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throats Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows. wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An in chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An infurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who fued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again affaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest he escaped in his facerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman mattons, his attendants were scattered or unhorfed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his fucceffor was found alone and half-dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the apostle withdrew from a city in which his dignity was infulted and his perfon was endangered; and the vanity of facerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty 's These

cinctus retro gladio fine more cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit, Ecclefiam furibundus introiit, inde custode remoto papam per gulam accepit, diftraxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclefiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jefu bono interim dormiente, detraxit ad domum, ufque deduxit, inibi cate. mavit et inclusit.

5 Ego coram Deo et ecclesia dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallem unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas II. ciple Eugenius the third, St. Bornard, with see 141

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examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the CHAP. fufferings of two pontiffs of the fame age, the fecond and third of the name of Lucius. The Lucius II. former, as he ascended in battle-array to affault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days. The latter was fe- Lucius III, verely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, feveral of his priefts had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, referving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres. mounted them on affes with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, laffitude or remorfe, the characters of the men, and the circumflances of the times, might fometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was reflored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by fuch tempests as had almost funk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually prefented the aspect of war and discord: the churches and palaces were fortified and affaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Califfus the fecond alone had refolution and Califfus II. power to prohibit the use of private arms in the A.D. metropolis. Among the nations who revered the 11124. apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked II. a general indignation; and, in a letter to his differ 1130_ ciple Eugenius the third, St. Bernard, with the 1143.

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Character of the Romans by St. Bernard.

sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people 15. 16 Who is ig-"norant," fays the monk of Clairvaux, " of the "vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation oursed in fedition, cruel, untractable, and scorn-" ing to obey, unless they are too feeble to re-44 fift. When they promife to ferve, they afpire to reign; if they fwear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours if your doors, or your counfels, are shut against them. Dextrous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of " doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, imes pious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will on not fubmit; they know how to govern; faithce less to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike im-" pudent in their demands and their refufals. " Lofty in promife, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the fami-" liar arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity '7; yet the features, however harsh and ugly,

nanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta, gens immitis et intractabilis usque adhuc, subdi nescia, nisi cum non valet residere (de Considerat. 1. iv. c. 2. p. 441.). The saint takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, invisi terræ et cœlo, utrique injecere manns, &c. (p. 443.).

37 As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked ugly, express a lively refemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century " suoilleder edt to soois

CHAP. Political herefy of Arnold of Brefcia, A. D. 1140

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character a and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal fovereign. In the bufy age of the crufades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the herefy of Bulgaria, the Paulician fect, was fuccessfully transplanted into the foil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the defire of freedom with the profession of piety 19. The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia 20, whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty lefa to their frueriors, in clerable to their en

by refentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, &c.

(Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 330.).

18 Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his Annals, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of Romani Catholici, and Schifmetici: to the former he applies all the good.

to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

19 The herefies of the xiith century may be found in Motheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles, p. 419-427.), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the xth volume, I have described the fect of the Paulicians, and followed thrir migration from

Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

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29 The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia, are drawn by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Chron. 1. vii. c. 31. de Gestis Frederici I. Li. c. 27. Lii. c. 21.), and in the iiid book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris near Basil (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.). The long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 108.).

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CHAP than as an uniform of obedience. The advertages could not deny the wit and eloquence which they feverely felt withey confess with believence the frecious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths of Imhis theological fludies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate, Abelard 21, who was likewife involved in the fuspicion of herefy; but the lover of Eloifa was of a foft and flexible nature pland his ecclefiaftic judges were edified and difarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this mafter, Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the tafte of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loofely censured; but a political herely was the fource of his fame and misfortunes. He prefumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the fword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and poffessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their falvation; and that after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would fuffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time, the

his daughter the abbets Hildecan 21 The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABE'LARD, FOULQUES, HELDISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well under-Reod by Motheim (Inftitut, Hift, Ecclef. p. 412-415.)

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preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discon- C-H-A P. tents or revolt of Brefein against her bishop, was the first fruits of his dangerous lesions But the favour of the people is less permanent than the refentment of the priest; and after the herefy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the fecond M, in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were breed by prejudice and fear to execute the fentence of the church Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the difciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a fafe and hospitable thelter in Zurich, now the first of the Swifs cantons. From a Roman station 13, a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually encreased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanele were fometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries 24 In an age less ripe for reformation, the præcurfor of Zuinglius was heard with

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2) Præfule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nastros

Nomen ab innocua ducit laudabile vità.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who tums the appactical name of Innocent II. into a compliment

43 A Roman inscription of Statio Turicentis has been found at Zurich (d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642-644.): but it is without fufficient warrant, that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolised, the names of Tigurum and Pagus and avarice, but for a

24 Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 106.) recapitulates the donation (A. D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbess Hildegardis. Curtim nostram Turegum in ducatu Alamannia in pago Durgaugenfi, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, flaves, churches, &c. a noble gift. Charles the Bold gave the jus moneta, the city was walled under Otho I. and the line of the bolliop of Frilingen,

Nobile Toregum multarum copia rerum is repeated with pleasure by the autiquaries of Zurich.

Vol. XII.

applause:

LXIX.

CHAP. applause: a brave and simple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, feduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his lake. the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard as; and the enemy of the church was driven by perfecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the fuccesfor of St. Peter.

He exhorts the Romans to restore the republic, A. D. 1144-1154.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the fervice of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the feven hills. Blending in the fame difcourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of classic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to affert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the name of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock at. Nor could his spiritual government escape the centhe centures of their fourtual father; their guilt was

as Bernard, epiftol exev, exevi. tom. i. p. 187-190. Amidfe his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, qui, utinam quam fance effet doctring quam diftricte eft vita. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition for the church.

16 He advised the Romans,

father of the politic Confilis armifque fua moderamina fumma

Arbitrio tractare fuo, nil juris in hac re mignal sit l'a Pontifici fummo, modicum concedere regi VI MALIADA

ent of Suadebat populo. Sic læla stultus utraque sirom to sund Majestate, reum geminæ se fecerat aulæ.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the profe of Otho.

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appaules a brave and timple people imbibed and the initial state of the property of the property of the state applaufent a brave and fimp ferior clergy were taught by his lessons to refult the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the fecond and Anastasius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth 28, the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince; they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the fe-

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²⁷ See Baronius (A. D. 1148, No 38, 39.) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1141, No 3.) as the father of the political heretics, whose influence then hurt him in France.

France.

28 The English reader may consult the Biographia Britannica,
Adrian IV. but our own writers have added nothing to the

THE DECLINE AND FALL



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tion of the

C. H.A.P. ditious preacher was the price of their absolution.

LXIX. But the revence of Adrian was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unfatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbaroffa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans: the infults, the injuries, the fears, to which his perfon and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the herefy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclefiaftical, fubordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the defire of the imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of fmall account; and their common enemy was facrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæfar: the præfect of the city pronounced his fentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tyber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relies of their mafter . The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes, his fect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of in the years 952 and 956, Gracianus in Dei nomine conful et dux.

His execution, A. D. I155.

> 39 Besides the historian and poet already quoted, the last adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442) They

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faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church CHAP. is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocefe of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the fame principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

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The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two confuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons 30. But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of fenators, of confuls, of the fons of confuls, may fometimes be discovered 33.

Reftoration of the fenate, 1144.

THE CKC-

entition,

39 Ducange (Gloff, Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, DECAR) CHONES, tom. ii. p. 726.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad ii. l. ii.): Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetuftum confulum exemplar fummæ rerum præeffent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Italia, I. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the confuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

i In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 408.), a Roman is mentioned as confulis natus in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (differt. v.) discovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine conful et dux, Georgius conful et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII, proudly, but vaguely, ftyles himfelf conful et dux et Omnium Romanorum fenator, and last mura Region (indignilli)

They

THE DECLINE AND FALL



They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours 32, and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent; but they float on the furface, without a feries or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government 33; and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the fenate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthufiafm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The affembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular diffribution of the thirtyfive tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverfe orators, and the flow operation of votes

confuls; had they not distained a fitte fe promisen.

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³² As late as the xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalphi, &c. the title of inerce, or confuls (see Chron. Sagornini, passim); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general, the names of conful and fenator, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count and lord (Signeur, Ducange, Glossar). The monkish writers are often ambitious of sine classic words.

often ambitious of fine classics words.

33 The most constitutional form, is a diploma of Otho III.

(A. D. 998), Consulbus senatus populique Romani; but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A. D. 2014, the historian Dithmar (apud Muratori, differt. xxiii.) describes him, a senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum sex rasi barbâ, alii prolixà, mystice incedebant cum baculis. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406).

⁽Plid Hill. Natur xxxiii g. Heaufort, Republique Romaine, tom.

and ballots, could not eafily be adapted by a blind C HAP. multitude, ignorant of the arts, and infenfible of the benefits, of legal government. It was propoled by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of fuch diffinction 34? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times; those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military fervice on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were infensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preferved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Jultinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of confuls; had they not disdained a title so promiscuonly adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the fubjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and order, (apud Muratori, differt, xxiii.) def ribes

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the fenate and people as a third branch of the republic till the confulfhip of Cicero, who affumes the merit of the elablifiment (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 3. Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 144—155.).



CHAP, who infulted the vicas of Christinave long real frected the unarmed fancilty of a plebeigh mas houses; and the folid walls, the long resident

The Capi-

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and ara to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her feven eminences 36, is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the fummit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortrels in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a fiege against the victorious Gauls; and the fanctuary of empire was occu-pied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Velpalian 37. The temples of Ju-

35 The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetuftos; Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre, Jura tribunorum, fanefum reparare fenatum, asmo-Et fenio fessas mutasque reponere leges. L'apla ruinolis, et adhue pendentia muris -6115 51 Reddererprimævo Capitolia prisca nitori: -25000 501

But of these reformations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

36 Aftermany disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined, that the fummit of the Capitoline hill next the river is firicily the Mone Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other furnit, the church and convent of Araeeli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis, occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, Roma Antica, 1. v. c. 11-16.).

37 Tacit. Hift. iii. 69, 70.

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piter and his kindred deities had crumbled lifto CHAP dult; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the folid walls, the long and the ving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the laple of time of twas the first act of the Romans. an act of freedom, to reftore the firength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the feat of their arms and counfels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. U. The first Cæsars had been invested with the The coin. exclusive coinage of the gold and filver; to the fenate they abandoned the bafer metal of bronze of copper 36: the emblems and legends were inferibed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The fuccesfors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the fenate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, affumed the fole direction of the mint: and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long feries of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman fenate afferted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps.



The Capi-

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³⁸ This partition of the noble and baser metals between the emperor and fenate, must however be adopted, not as a but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the Science des Medailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. if. p 208-211! in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Baftie).



CHAP. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth tenturies, are shewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of thefe, a gold medal, Christ is depictured holding in his left hand a book with this infeription: "The vow of The 4 ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE " CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling fenator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield 35. III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn fword, which he received from the fucceffors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions 40. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarraffed the præfect in the conflict of adverse condemnatiathers.

The præfeet of the city.

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t may ufe 39 In his xxviith differtation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559-569.), Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian coins, which bore the obscure names of Affortiati, Infortiati, Provisini, Pararini. During this period all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII. abstained from the right of coining, which was refurned by his fueceffor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the court of Avignon.

A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeg (in Baluz, Mifcell. tom. v. p. 64. aptid Schmidt, Hift. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 265.), thus describes the constitution of Rome in the xith century! Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia spectant ad Romanum. pontificem Itemque ad Romanum imperatorem; five illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de fua dignitate respicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit hominium, et dominum imperatorum a quo accipit suæ potestatis insigne, scilicet gladium exertum.

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duties ". A servant, in whom they possessed but a CHAP. third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained. was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he invested the præfect with a banner instead of a fword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or fervice to the German emperors 42. In his place an ecclefiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the fenate and people. IV. After the revival of Number the senate 43, the conscript fathers (if I may use of the sethe expression) were invested with the legislative nate. and executive power; but their views feldom



A. D. 1198-

41 The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Pifan. in Vit. Paschal. II p. 357, 358.) describe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, inconfultis patribus . . . loca præfectoria . . . Laudes præfectoriæ comitiorum applaufum juraturum populo in ambonem fublevant confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.

42 Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfectura eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem (Gesta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487.).

41 See Otho Frifing. Chron. vii. 31. de Gest. Frederic I. 1. 1.

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feached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and camult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or affembly confifted of fifty-fix fenators ", the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counfellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region or pariff, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break. confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary facrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the fuccessor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic 45.

44 Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senaters, of the Capuzzi samily, &c. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A. D. 1194) est temporibus lvi. senato-

rom (Ducange, Gloff. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

An original treaty: Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatibus mibis, &c. anno 44º senatus. The senate speaks, and speaks with authority: Reddimus ad præsens . . . habebimus dabitis presbyteria . . . jurabimus pacem et sidelitatem, &c. A chartula de Tenimentis Tusculani, dated in the 47ºh year of the same æra, and confirmed decreto amplissimi ordinis senatus, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio consistentis. It is there we find the difference of senatores consisterit and simple senators (Muratori, differt, xhii. tom, iii. p. 787—789.).

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The office of fenator.

The union and vigour of a public council was CHAP. dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of fix months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction; and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themfelves; and they fought abroad those bleffings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the fame age, and from the fame motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure, which, however strange it may feem, was adapted to their fituation, and productive of the most falutary effects 46. They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a foldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. The compact be-

of the lame zers, and confirmed decreto ampliffini ordinis fe-. 46 Muratori (differt. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64-92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the Occulus Pafforalism which he has given at the end, is a treatife or fermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.

LXIX.

CHAP. tween the governor and the governed was fealed with oaths and fubfcriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the in. ture of their mutual obligations, were defined with scrupulous precision. They fwore to obey him as their lawful fuperior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or fix knights and civilians, his affeffors in arms and justice, attended the Podesta ", who maintained at his own expence a decent retinue of servants and horses: his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had fatisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government. 5 4034 & to shot

Brancaleone, A. D. 1252-1258.

ed It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the fenator Brancaleone 48, whose fame and merit have been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear forefight of the difficulties of the the exchange of

47 In the Latin writers, at least of the filver age, the title of Poteffas was transferred from the office to the magistrate:

Stom Hujns qui trahitut prætextam sumere mavis, 1 16 bils

An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse Potesias.

(Jovenal. Satir. x. 99.)

48 See the life and death of Brancalcone, in the Historia Major of Matthew Paris, p. 741. 757, 292-797-799, 210. 823. 833. 836. 840. The multitude of pilgrims and fuitors connected Rome and St. Alban's; and the refentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppresied.

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talk, had engaged him to refuse the honour of CHAP. their choice : the flatures of Rome were furpended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. to No criminals were fo powerful as to brave, fo obscure as to elude. the justice of the fenator. By his fentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to refide in his diocese; and the standard of Brancaleone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His fervices were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their fake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent fenator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more frictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, fustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous refistance allowed the Romans to compare the prefent with the past; and Brancaleone was conducted from the prison to tafk,

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CHAP, the Capital amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate and as look as envy was ap-Realed by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vale, was deposited on a lofty column of marble ?

Charles of Anjou, A. D. 1265-1278.

to The impotence of realen and wintue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice inflead of a private sitizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their fenator fome prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the fame time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of fenator from the Roman people son As he passi fed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harth features of his despotic characterus Yet even! Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who faluted with the fame acclamations apoliolic throne was transported, as

49 Matthew Paris thus ends his account. Caput vero ipfina Brancaleonis in vafe pretiofo fuper marmoream columnam collocatum, in fignum fui valoris et probitatis, quali reliquias, fuper stitiose nimis et pompose sustulerunt, Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et extripator, et populi protector et defenfor, veritatis et justitias imitator et amator (p. 840.). A biographen of innocent IV. (Muratori, Script.) tom, iii. P. i. p. 391, 592.) draws a left favourable portrait of mercimonus, in ulimis, in reddictions, in protested enilleding ent

50 The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual fenator of Rome, is mentioned by the intollars in the with volume of the collection of Murator, by Nicholas de Jamilla (p. 592.), the monk of Padua (po 724); Sabas Malatoina (l. n. c. 9. p. 808.), and Ricordano Malefpini (d'1774 p. 3593).

21

the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; CHAP. and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealoufy of the The absolute term of his life was superfeded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff afferts the truth, validity, and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the fenator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and perfons of an eminent and conspicuous rank 51. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the fourth, who humbly folicited the fuffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic 52, to hold during his natural life, and to exercife at pleafure by himfelf or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the fame title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her

Martin

The emperor 1328.

51 The high-founding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal fovereignty on the donation of Conftantine, is still extant; and as it has been inferted by Boniface VIII. in the Sexte of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a facred and perpetual law.

52 I am indebted to Fleury (Hift. Eccles. tom. xviii. p. 306.) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclefiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A. D. 1281, No 14,

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Addreffes of Rome to the emperors.

Conrad III. A. D. 1144.

C H A P. two fovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis. In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold

> of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and fervices in the cause of Cæfar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the third and Frederic the first, is a mixture of flattery and pride; the tradition and the ignorance of their own history 53. After some complaint of his filence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We befeech " your majesty, not to disdain the humility of " your fons and vaffals, not to liften to the accu-" fations of our common enemies; who calumniate the fenate as hostile to your throne, who " fow the feeds of discord, that they may reap " the harvest of destruction. The pope and the "Sicilian are united in an impious league to oppose " our liberty and your coronation. With the " bleffing of God, our zeal and courage has " hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their " powerful and factious adherents, more especially " the Frangipani, we have taken by affault " the houses and turrets: some of these are

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⁵³ These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho bishop of Frifingen (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. tom. v. p. 186, 187.), perhaps the noblest of historians: he was fon of Leopold marquis of Austria, his mother, Agnes, was daugher of the emperor Henry IV. and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in feven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the Gesta Frederici I. the last of which is inferted in the vith volume of Muratori's historians.

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" occupied by our troops, and some are levelled CHAP. " with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which " they had broken, is restored and fortified for " your fafe paffage; and your army may enter " the city without being annoyed from the caftle " of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all " that we defign, is for your honour and fervice, " in the loyal hope, that you will fpeedily appear " in person, to vindicate those rights which have " been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dig-" nity of the empire, and to furpass the fame and " glory of your predeceffors. May you fix your " refidence in Rome, the capital of the world; " give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic kingdom; " and imitate the example of Constantine and "Justinian 54, who by the vigour of the senate " and people obtained the sceptre of the earth "." But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and fucceffor Frederic Barbaroffa, Frederic I. was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclefiaftical and fecular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a

A. D. 1155.

⁵⁴ We defire (faid the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore senatûs et populi Romani suis tenuere mani-

⁵⁵ Otho Frifing. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 28. p. 662-664. U 2

CHAP. free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the " queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and of friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which " has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is " impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. "Under your auspicious influence, may the pri-" mitive times be restored. Affert the prero-" gatives of the eternal city, and reduce under " her monarchy, the infolence of the world. "You are not ignorant, that, in former ages, " by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and " discipline of the equestrian order, she extended "her victorious arms to the East and West, " beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the " ocean. By our fins, in the absence of our of princes, the noble institution of the senate has " funk in oblivion: and with our prudence, our " strength has likewise decreased. We have re-" vived the senate, and the equestrian order; the " counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will " be devoted to your person and the service of " the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron? You were a guest, I have " adopted you as a citizen; a Transalpine stranger, "I have elected you for my fovereign 56; and " given you myself, and all that is mine. Your " first and most facred duty, is to fwear and " fubscribe, that you will shed your blood for "the republic; that you will maintain in peace " and justice, the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors; and that you will reward .

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⁵⁶ Hospes eras, civem feci. Advena fuisti ex Transalpinis partibus, principem constitui.

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with five thousand pounds of filver the faithful CHAP. " senators who shall proclaim your titles in the " Capitol. With the name, affume the character, " of Augustus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest. " Famous indeed " have been the fortifude and wifdom of the a ancient Romans: but your speech is not sea-" foned with wisdom, and I could wish that " fortitude were confpicuous in your actions. " Like all fublunary things, Rome has felt the " viciflitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest' " families were translated to the East, to the " royal city of Constantine; and the remains of " your strength and freedom, have long since" " been exhaufted by the Greeks and Franks. " Are you defirous of beholding the ancient glory " of Rome, the gravity of the fenate, the spirit " of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the " valour of the legions? you will find them in " the German republic. It is not empire, naked " and alone, the ornaments and virtues of em-" pire have likewife migrated beyond the Alps " to a more deferving people 57: they will be em-" ployed in your defence, but they claim your " obedience. You pretend that myself or my-" predeceffors have been invited by the Romans: "you mistake the word; they were not invited; "they were implored. From its foreign and

ornamenta fua fecum traxit. Penes nos funt confules tui, &c. Cicro or Livy would not have rejected these images, the elequence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Lary imporest.

II 2

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CHAP. " domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by " Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in " our country: and their dominion was the price " of your deliverance. Under that dominion " your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the " right of inheritance and possession, and who " shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the " hand of the Franks 58 and Germans enfeebled " by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? " Am I not encompassed with the banners of a " potent and invincible army? You impose con-" ditions on your master; you require oaths: if " the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; " if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my " equity? It is extended to the meanest of my " fubjects. Will not my fword be unsheathed in " the defence of the Capitol? By that fword the " northern kingdom of Denmark has been re-" ftored to the Roman empire. You prescribe "the measure and the objects of my bounty, " which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. " All will be given to patient merit; all will be " denied to rude importunity "." Neither the emperor nor the fenate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and fuspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was disturbed by a fally from the

> 58 Otho of Frifingen, who furely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xiith. century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum): he adds, however, the epithet of Teutonici.

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⁵⁹ Otho Frifing. de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. p. 720-723 These original and authentic acts I have translated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

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LXIX.

Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the CHAP. Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not fafely encamp in the prefence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he befieged Rome, to feat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pifan gallies were introduced into the Tyber: but the senate and people were faved by the arts of negociation and the progress of disease: nor did Frederic or his fuccessors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercifed by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the fecond offered in the Capitol the great standard, the Caroccio of Milan 60. After the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæfars 61.

Under

60 From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (differt. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492.) has transcribed this curious fact with the doggrel verfes that accompanied the gift.

> Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi destinor, ave! Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare justo. Væ Mediolanum! jam fentis spernere vanum Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires. Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor effe priorum Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dee tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell' anno 1727, una copia desso Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto fi scopri nel Campidoglio, presso alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Sistó V. l'avea falto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quatro colonne di marmo fino colla sequente inscrizione, &c. to the same purpose as the old inscription.

61 The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, is related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x, U 4

Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring cities,

CHAP. Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian 62 amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," fays Florus, " when Tibur and Præneste, our summer " retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the " Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the " Arician groves, when we could triumph without " a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines " and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a " title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by. the contrast of the past and the present; they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the fame hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. jacent territory on either fide of the Tyber was always claimed, and fometimes poffeffed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons affumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

> xi, xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the Histoire des Allemands (tom. iii, iv.), by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

> 62 Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. The whole passage of Florus (l. i, c. 11.) may be read with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (Œuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii, P. 634, 635. quarto edition),

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turies, the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce CHAP. or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and fenate; and if their headstrong and felfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his foiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first confuls and dictators, who were taken from the plow. They affembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; fallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their fieges were tedious and unskilful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealoufy and revenge; and instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adverfaries. The captives, in their fhirts, with a rope round their necks, folicited their pardon: the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were fcattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the feats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Oftia, Albanum, Tufculum, Præneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were fuccessively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans 63. Of these 64.

Porto

⁶³ Ne a feritate Romanorum, ficut fuerant Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses, Albananses, Labrenses, et nuper Tiburtini destruerentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757.). These events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xviiith volume) of Muratori.

⁶⁴ For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, &c. see the lively picture of the P. Labat (Voyage en Espagne et en Italie), who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate description of which P. Eschinard (Roma, 1750, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

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CHAP. Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tyber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffalos, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the bleffings of peace: Frescati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum: Tibur or Tivoli has refumed the honours of a city 65, and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction. the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulfed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum 66 and Viterbo 67 might be compared in their relative flate to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and if we number the flain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years after-

Battle of Tufcu-Jum, A. D. 1167.

> 65 Labat (tom. iii. p. 233.) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has feverely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: in civitate Tiburtina non vivitur civiliter.

> 66 I depart from my usual method, of quoting only by the date the Annals of Muratori, in confideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 42-44.).

> 67 Matthew Paris, p. 345. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the fee thirty-two years (A. D. 1206-1238), and is described, by the English historian, as a foldier and a statesman (p. 178. 399.).

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Battle of Viterbo.

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ward they marched against Viterbo in the eccle- CHAP. fiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Tholouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and flaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the fenate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a fecond conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not above, and in arts, they were far below, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after fome irregular fallies, they fubfided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation The elecin the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian pope s. princes, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the fanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unfuccefs-

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ful competitor long diffurb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divefted of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established, that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy fee might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a fuperior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most respectable of the clergy were divided; and the diffant princes, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the spurious, from the legitimate, idel. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to an hostile pontisf; and each of the competitors was reduced to fuffer the infults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience; and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual fuccession was afcertained by Alexander the third 68, who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the

Right of the cardinals established by Alexander III.

68 See Mosheim, Institut. Histor, Ecclesiast. p. 401. 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

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fole college of cardinals. The three orders of CHAP. bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possesfion of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The fenators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the fupreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which; till the reign of Leo the tenth, feldom exceeded twenty, or twenty-five, perfons. By this wife regulation, all doubt and fcandal were removed, and the root of schifm was so effectually destroyed. that in a period of fix hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the facred college. But as the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of an head. A vacancy Institution of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the tenth, who refolved to prevent by Gre-

of the

⁶⁹ The origin, titles, importance, drefs, precedency, &c. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomassin (Difcipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1262-1287.); but their purple is now much faded. The facred college was raifed to the definite number of feventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the difciples of Christ.

gory X.
A. D.
1274.

the future abuse; and his bull, after some oppofition, has been confecrated in the code of the canon law 7°. Nine days are allowed for the obfequies of the deceased pope, and the arrival of the absent cardinals: on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment or conclave, without any feparation of walls or curtains; a fmall window is referved for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is locked on both fides, and guarded by the magiftrates of the city, to feclude them from all correfpondence with the world. If the election be not confummated in three days, the luxury of their table is contracted to a fingle dish at dinner and fupper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a fcanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy fee, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or affuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government, of the church: all agreements and promifes among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their folemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire: they are still urged by the personal motives of healthand freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot or fecret votes has wrapt the struggles of the con-

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⁷º See the bull of Gregory X. approbante facro concilio, in the Sexte of the Canon I.aw (l. i. tit. 6. c. 3.), a supplement to the Decretals, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addressed to all the universities of Europe.

clave 72 in the filky veil of charity and polite- CHAP. ness 72. By these institutions, the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they feemed infensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of

Bayaria revived the example of the great Otho. After fome negociation with the magistrates, the Roman people was affembled 73 in the fquare

before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days journey

71 The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1655), in which he was a spectator and an actor (Memoires, tom. iv. p. 15-57.): but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani, in 4to, 1667) has been continued fince the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the fuccessful candidate: but the next page opens with his

72 The expressions of cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: On y veçut toujours ensemble avec le même respect, et la même civilité que l'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les colleges; avec la même modestie, qui se remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des freres parfaitement unis.

73 Rechiesti per bando (says John Villani) sanatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capitani de' 25. e consoli (consoli?), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

from

LXIX.

C H A P. from the city; and that if he neglected to return on the third fummons, the public fervant should be degraded and difmiffed 14. But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful fovereign 75; and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Absence of the popes from Rome.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the fenate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the fuccesfors of Gregory the seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary refidence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed and their person was often endangered. From the perfecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live

74 Villami (l. x. c. 68-71. in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. p. 641-645.) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one converfant with the darker ages must have observed how much the fense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is sluctuating and inconfiftent.

75 In the ist volume of the Popes of Avignon, fee the fecond original Life of John XXII. p. 142-145. the confession of the 21 thops, p. 145-152, and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714,

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and die in the more tranquil liations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a ftern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in aims to deflroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat They returned with timorous obedience: and were faluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the loffes which their defertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expences of servants and frangers who attended the court ". After a fhort interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again furnmoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the fenate. In these occasional retreats. the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were feldom long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tyber to the Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from Actore made in provide a figure while there's estim topper borner

Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra fram celare cupiditatem gravifimam contra papam movere coperant questionem, exigentes ab eo urgentifime omnia que subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitiis locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quad cum audistet papa, precordialiter ingemuit et se compeniens museipulatum, occ. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their refidence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiatical annalists, Spandanus and Fleury.

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LXIX. Boniface VIII. A. D. 1294-X303.

C HA P. the farious contest between Boniface the eighth and the king of France Part The Spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three effaces, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope refided at Anagni, without the fuspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were feduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, feated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was infulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the oblinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who refcued him from facrilegious violence; but his imperious foul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in adfrenzy of rage and revenge.

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⁷⁷ Befides the general killorians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (Histoire particuliere du grand Differend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. P. xi. p. 61-82. This was at a ton this

His memory is flained with the glaring vices of CHAP. avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyre promoted this ecclefiaftical champion to the hose nours of a faint; a magnanimous finner (fay the chronicles of the times), who entered like a foxul reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Wetthe excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curfe, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition?

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense tion of of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the the holy French faction. A specious offer was made and ac- fee to Avignon, cepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would A.D. elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor. who had been informed by a fwift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with fuch speed and secrefy was the business transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the fifth 79, The cardinals

78 It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53-57.) be in jeft or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blafted by nature, the obsequious hand-

maid of the popes.

79 See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (1. viii. c. 63, 64, 80. in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII, and the election of Clement V. the last of which, like most anecdotes,

is embarraffed with fome difficulties.

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CHAP: of both parties were foon aftonished by a fum. mons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they foon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promife and affection, to prefer the refidence of France; and after dragging his court through Poiton and Galcogny, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally repoled at Avignon 10, which flourished above feventy years " the feat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by fea, by the Rhone, the polition of Avignon was on all fides acceffible: the fouthern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were foon attracted by the treafires of the church. They were already pollefied of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin country", or a positive country.

> The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. Oregory XI. and Clement VII. are published by Stephen Baluze (Vitæ Paparum Avenionenfium; Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in \$10) with copious and elaborate notes, and a fecond volume of acts and dociments. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devontly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

> 81 The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon, and the Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more mitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgement of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The abbe de Sade is diffracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modeltly pleads that many of the local inconveniencies of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaims, had been imported with the Roman court by the firangers of Italy (tom. t. p. 23-28:). Carol xx Carolination of the firangers of Italy (tom. t. p. 23-28:).

> The comtat Vehaillin was ceded to the popes in 1273 by Philip III. king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Tholoufe. Forty years before, the herefy of count Raymond

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2 populous and fertile spot; and the sovereignty CHAP. of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the routh and diffress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countels of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins 33. Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in folitude, and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the facred college was filled with French cardinals 34, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a feries of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indisfoluble ties to their native country.

Raymond had given them a pretence of feizure, and they derived some obscure claim from the xith century to some lands citra Rhodanum (Valefii Notitia Galliarum, p. 459. 610. Longuerue, Dofeription de la France, tom. i. p. 376-381.).

83 If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase-money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatem Avenionem emit per ejulmodi venditionem pecunia redundantes, &c. (iid-Vita Clement VI, in Baluz. tom, i. p. 272. Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 565.). The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples, name

10 84 Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (Vita ivia, p. 63. et Baluz, p. 625, &c.). In 1331, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod xx Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Francia originem traxiffe nofcuntur in memorato collegio existant (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1281.).

ad Lount of Photonie. Forty & & before, the herefy of count

1300.

C H A P. The progress of industry had produced and en. resiched the Italian republics : the aradofithein li-Intitution berty is the most flourishing period of population bilee, or and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce: holy year and their mechanicalabours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius as But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory les fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of fubjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in fome degree by the refort of pilgrims storthe fhrines of the apoftles; and the laft legacy of the popes, the inflitution of the HOLY YEAR 15, was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crufades, remained without an object; and anthe most valuable treasure of the church was e fequeftered above eight years from public cirreulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had fufficient learning to recollect and revive the fecular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century in To found without danger the depth of popular credulity, a fermon was feafonably pronounced, a report was arttrangers; and another spectator has fixed

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⁸⁵ Our primitive account is from cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the a royal treasure; ancientata respectation a si slonu

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fully feathered, fome aged witheffes were produced; TOHAP. and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of StoffPeter was crowded of the with the faithful, who demanded the cuftomary to said sindulgence of the holydtime as The pontiff, who as y loa watched and irritated their devout impatience, was foon perfuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary vabilition to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every fimilar period, should reofpedfully wifit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Haule The welcome found was propagated anthrough Christendom; and at first from the nearest reprovinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways dwere thronged with a fwarm of pilgrims who to fought to expiate their fins in a journey, however o coftly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military fervice. All exceptions of rank afor fex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the isommon transport; and in the ftreets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbehers could not be eafy non accurate; and they shave probably been magnified by a dextrous is clergy, well apprifed of the contagion of example: dyet we are affured by a judicious historian, who affifted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and X 4 day,

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HAP tional indépendence; and this declaration was fealed and ratified by a golden bull. The patri-

312 of vielland THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. day, with rakes in their hands, to collect without counting, the heaps of gold and filver that were boured on the alter of St. Paul st. It was fortunately a feafon of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhauftible fupply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry. all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation folicited Clement the fixth 87 to anticipate the distant per riod of the century, The gracious pontiff complied with their wifhes; afforded Rome this poor confolation for his lofs; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee 83. His fummons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or mur-

The fecond jubilee, A. D. 1350.

> 86 See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36.) in the xiith, and the Chronicon Aftenfe, in the xien volume (p. 191, 192.) of Muratori's Collection. Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum raftris, &c.

> 87 The two bulls of Boniface VIII, and Clement VI. are inferted in the Corpus Juris Canonici (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix.

> C. 1, 2.). 38 The fabbatic years and jubilees of the Mofaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republica Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. 1. iii. c. 14, 15. p. 151, 152.), the suspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c. may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a profane republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was obferved by the Jewish people.

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of the human race 30. OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

ne 218 to perfusale.

dered by the favage Romans, no longer mode CHAP rated by the prefence of their bishop 19. To the impatience of the popes we may dicribe the fucceffive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-distance five years; although the fecond of thefe terms is used or w commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants. and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubilee: yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic fmile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people oo.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy The nowas exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike op- bles or barons of pressive to the sovereign and the people. The Rome. rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who foon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The fword of the nobles was broken: their flaves were enfranchifed; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was subject

89 See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56.) in the xivth volume of Muratori, and the Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 75-89.

90 The subject is exhausted by M. Chais, a French minister at the Hague, in his Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques, sur les Jubiles et les Indulgences; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo; an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher,

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CHAP. LXIX.

to the laws of But the feeble and diforderly go. vernment of Rome was unequal to the talk of curbing her rebellious fons, who feorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the state; the barons afferted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a fiege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vallals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country 22: and a genuine Roman, could fuch have been produced, might have renounced these haughty frangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly flyled themselves the princes, of Rome 92. After a dark feries of revolutions, all records of pedigree were loft; the distinction of furnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks. the Germans and Normans, had obtained the Varican, and it is only the eloquence of St

or Muratori (Differt. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Plorence. Padua, Genoa, &c. the analogy of the rest, the evidence of Otho of Frifingen (de Geft. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13.), and the submission of the marquis of Este.

92 As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual, by what national law he chose to be governed (Mura-

tori, Differt, xxii) wat aidt lo sammer

a obid

⁹³ Petrarch attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epiftle, full of bold truths and abfurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the state of the xiven century (Memoires, tom. iii, yet I could with that it had been coolly refeed to faireft into a reproach against the antipope

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fairest possessions by royal bounty of the prero. CHAP. gative of valour, po Thefe examples might be readily prefumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of fenators and confuls, is an event without parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles 94. In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to christianity; and honoured at his baptifm with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the fon of Leo were fignalifed in the cause of Gregory the feventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crefcentius, or, as it is now called, the caftle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the fon were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and fo extensive was their alliance, that the grandfon of the profelyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people fupported his cause; he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the fecond, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death. the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles amindividual, by what national law he choic to be governed (

94 The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435. A. D. 1124, No 3, 41), who draws his information from the Chronographus Maurigniacensis,

tom. iii. P. r. p. 423-432:). The fact mult in fome degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.

and Arnulphus Sagienfis de Schiffmate (in Muratori, Script. Ital.

bitious



CHAP bitious of descending from a Jewish flack. It is not my delign to enumerate the Roman families. which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of fplent dor to the prefent time 9. The old confular line of the Francipani diffeover their name in the generous act of breaking or dividing bread in a time of famine; and fuch benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the Corfi, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the Savelli, as it should feem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the Capizuechi is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the Conti preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the Annibald must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero 96.

The Colonna,

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses

> Ex ipfis devota domies preshantis ab Ursel Recletize, vultamone gerens demittius altum

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Muratori has given two differtations (xli, and xlii.) to the names, furnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temmente erifician; yet farely fome ounces of pure gold are of more yahre than many pounds of bale metal. 19

The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather mewied slikery of the election and coronation of Bonfface VIII. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. I. p. 647, &c.), describes the Added to the complete and critical history of the critical history

nourie. I adhere teinher is sninging it iniber aflutit saratul 648.) 98 Pandulph. Isstnadari aquit a finamali iriv augiprifulfit. Ital.

add at Momen in emeritostanta virtutis lionotes .q.i. T. iii .mo.

deligical of Rogandslos supmerted subsected translated pigliofs Aurata fulgentes toga fociante caterval to isit fanisiro un

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of Colown and Uning whole private flory is CHAP. an effential part of the annals of modern Rome b) The name and arms of Colonna 97 have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Herceles or the pillar of Christ's Ragellation, or the luminous column that guided the Ifraelites in the defert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attells the power and antiquity, while it explains the fimple means ing, of the name. By the uturpation of Cave. the Colonna provoked the arms of Paichal the fecond; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiels of Zagarola and Colonna: and the latter of thele towns was probably adorned with fome lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple 35. They likewife poffeffed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tufculum; a firong prefumption of their descent from the counts

Ex ipfis devota domus præftantis ab *Ursā*Ecclefiæ, vultumque gerens demiffius altum

Fefta *Cohumna* joeis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;

Stephanides fenior, *Comites*, *Anibalica* proles,

Præfectufque urbis magnum fine viribus nomen,

The ancient statutes of Rome (l. ii. c. 5. 100, p. 647, 648.). The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59, p. 174, 175.) distinguish eleven samilies of barons, who are obliged to swear in concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malesactors, outlaws, &c.—a feeble security!

197 It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Differt, xlii, tom. iii. p. 647, 648.).

98 Pandulph. Pifan, in Vit, Paichal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 335... The family has full great poliefions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rolpiglion this original fief of Colonna (Eschinard, p. 258, 259.).

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CHAP of Tulculum, who in the tenth century were the terants of the apoltolic fee. According too their own and the public opinion, the vorimitive and remote fource was derived from the banks of the Rhine 193 and the fovereigns of Germany were not aframed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of feven hundred years has been often illustrated by me rit, and always by fortune ... About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and fix brothers, all confpicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church Of thefe, Peter was elected fenator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphane car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæfar; while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron fo partial to their family, that he has been delineated in fatirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar 101. After his decease, their haughty Roman people, who reftored the itonours and

> Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rhenio 2noilismoo fays Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539.) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg obferves, that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom, xii. p. 533.), that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city, and founded Mentz in Germany.

100 I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's gallies at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hift. I. 7. tom. iii. p. 55, 56.

Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180-190.). 101 Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216. 220.

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behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most imicc HAB placable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle . and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth a and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and foiritual arms ? He proclaimed a crufade against his personal enemies ; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tyber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles and after the ruin of Palestrina or Praneste, their principal feat, the ground was marked with a ploughthare, the emblem of perpetual defolation Degraded, banished, profcribed, the fix brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their furest afylum: they prompted and directed the enterprife of Philip: and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thouonna); but the fire all author of the Medicous of Brandenburgois!

¹⁰² Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authorifed the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the perfecution of Boniface VIII. the character of Stephen and his fons, their quarrels with the Urfini, &c. (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—230. 275—280.) His criticism often rectifies the hearlay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less dillgent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct. "10121v issued furet. Orațio z. Opp. tom. i. p. 130—190). **bast**imator: Atuali d'Italia, tom. s. p. 216, 220-

LXIX.

CHAP. fand gold florins which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope.
All the fpiritual centures and disqualifications were abolished to by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly esta-blished by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was fignalised in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and effeemed as an hero superior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Perfecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his diffres, he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country: and when he was asked, " where is now your sort-" refs?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, " here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonnay exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Urfini migrated from Spo-Muratori (Differt, xlii, tom. Ti

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¹⁰³ Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any eccleliafical benefice (Villani, J. v. c. z.); and the last stains of annual excommunication, were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di SistorV. tom, iii. p. 416.). Treason, secrilege, and proscription, are often the best titles of ancient nobility. nephews of a modern pope.

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leto 104; the fons of Urfus, as they are styled in CHAP. the twelfth century, from some eminent person who is only known as the father of their race.

But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinfmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the fenate and facred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celeftin the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage "s. Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celeftin of; and Nicholas was ambitious for their fake to folicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombard and Tufcany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of fenators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Cois for the distribution of a

Vallie te proxima mifit Appenninigenæ quâ prața virentia fylvæ

Spoletana metunt armenta greges protervi. Monaldeschi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Urfini a

French origin, which may be remotely true.

105 In the metrical life of Celeftin V. by the cardinal of St. George (Mutatori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.), we find a lumihous, and not inelegant passage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, &c.)

-genuit quem nobilis Urfæ (Urfi?] Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis id bet Pascibus in clero, pompasque experta fenatus,

Bellorumque man't grandi fipata parentum
Cardineos apices necnon fastigia dudum

Ogo mapatas merdia tenens.

Muratori (Differt. xlii. tom. iii. p. .) observes, that the first Urfini pontificate of Celestine III. was unknown; he is inclined to read Urf progenies.

160 Filli Urff, odondam Cœleftini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclehæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. ni. P. 11): The partial prodigatity of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villam and Muratori. Yet the Urfini would diffain the nephews of a modern pope.

VOL. XII.

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Their hereditary feuds.

CHAP lonna, will likewife redound to the glory of the Urfini, their conflant and equal antagonifts in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclenatical state. The jealoufy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Urfini espouled the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were difplayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long fince forgotten 107. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they disputed in arms the vacant republic: and the mifchiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival fenators. By their private hostilities, the city and country were desolated. and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the fword, till the most renowned champion of the Urfini was furprifed and flain by the younger Stephen Colonna 108. His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the affassination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two fervants. Yet the victorious Co-

> 107 In his list Differtation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

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¹⁰⁸ Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222-230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220.), and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, p. 533, 534.), are less favourable to their arms.

lonna, with an annual colleague, was declared CHAP. fenator of Rome during the term of five years.

And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and bears, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble COLUMN 1009.

the vith Canzone of Petrarch, Spinta Gentil, &c. to Stephen Co-long the younger:

Orsi, lupi, leoni, aquile e serpi
Ad una gran marmorea colonna
Fanno noja savente e a se damno.

.. 747 In his list Differtation of the Italian Aptiquities, Muraton explains the factions of the Guelohs and Guibelines.

202 Petrarch ("om."), p. 222-230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonias; but two contemporaries, a Plotentiae (Giovanni Villani, J. x. c. 220.), and a Roman (Ludovico Cintaldefelii, p. 533. 534.), are left favourable to their arms.

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the boundless variety of the incomparable Arioflo. The ments of XXII ver 4 And 3 ics qualified.

acis of Dante, the regular beauties of Taffo, and

Character and Coronation of Petrarch.—Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi.—His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death.—Return of the Popes from Avignon.—Great Schism of the West.—Re-union of the Latin Church.—Last Struggles of Roman Liberty.—Statutes of Rome.—Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

Petrarch, A.D. 1304, June 19— A. D. 1374, July 19. In the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch' is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affectation, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation: yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime

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The Memoires fur la Vie de François Petrarque (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767. 3 vols. in 4¹⁰), form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his sirst volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject.

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compositions of their epic muse, the original wild- CHAP. ness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and . the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover, I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy. that her existence has been questioned ; for a matron fo prolific 3, that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children , while her amorous swain fighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a fin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was foon diffused from Avignon over France and

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I Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealoufy was not the effect of love, fince he married a second wife within seven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, precisely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

iffued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and graterful biographer of Petrarch, and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to enquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. p. 122-133, notes, p. 7-58, tom. ii. p. 455-495, not. p. 76-82.)

5 Vancluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (Memoires, tom. i. p. 340—359.). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much mistaken, if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

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Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applied the man, who by precept and example revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry?; and the ritle of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court?, was first invented by the Caelars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor?

6 Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Bafil in the xyith century, but without the date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookfeller, or the amulement of the public.

v Confult Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457-466.). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the vifit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et

exinde rex versuum dictus.

From Augustus to Louis, the muse has too often been sale and venal: but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furnish twice a year a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence, of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this richenshors custom, is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius.

9 Mocrates (in Panegyrico, tom. i. p. 116, 117. edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the ayang και τα αθλά μεριταί με μαναί τας και ρομικ, αλλα και λόγων και γιομέτ. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a musical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton, in Nerone, c. 23.; Philostrat. apud Cafaubon ad locum; Dion Cassius, or Kiphilin, I, Ixili, p. 1032, 2041. Potter's Greek Antiquities, γοι, i. p. 445. 450.).

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the belief that Virgil and Horace had been CHAP. crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard "; and the laurel" was endeared to the lover by a verbal refemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable", he enjoyed, and might boaft of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, fince he applauds the success of his own labours; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or fecret opposition of envy and prejudice, was furmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-fixth year of his age, he was folicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the folitude of Vaucluse, he received a fimilar and folemn invitation from the fenate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a

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¹⁰ The Capitoline games (certamen quinquenale, musicum, equeftre, gymnicum), were inflituted by Domitian (Sucton. c. 4.) in the year of Christ 86 (Cenform. de Die Natali, c. 18. p. 200. edit. Havercamp), and were not abolished in the igth century (Aufonius de Profesioribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to fuperior merit, the exclusion of Statins (Capitolia noftræ inficiata lyre, Silv. I. iii. v. 31.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion. while the prince is a man of virtue.

Petrarch and the fenators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hift. Natur. xv. 39. Hift. Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tome i. P. 150-220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak leaves (Martial, J. iv. epigram 54.)

The pious grandfon of Laura has laboured, and not without fuccess, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the confures of the grave and the fneers of the profane (tom, ii. notes, p. 76-Police's Greek Astropid in plats 450-1.

CHAP. lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal though immortal wreath which gonius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity: but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and, after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world, guitargani

His poetic coronation at Rome, A. D. 1341, April 8.

The ceremony of his coronation 13 was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician vouths were arrayed in fearlet; fix representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the fenator, count of Anguillara, a kinfman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald Petrarch arose, After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the fenator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, " Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A fonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act of diploma ' which was

The original act is printed among the Pieces Justificatives in the Memoires fur Petrarque, tom, iii. p. 50-53.

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³³ The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425-435. tom. ii. p. 1-6. notes, pl 1-13.) from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene. 20 2100 bore

presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives CHAP. of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the laple of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of daurel, ivy, or myrtle, of affulfing the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing in all places whatfoever, and on all fubjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the fenate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a fentiment, and every fentiment to a passion. The aspect of the feven hills and their majestic ruins, confirmed thefe lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful fon: he diffembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleafed to forget the miferies of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world: the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if she could refume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the analysis in bruncid among the Pieces Julificatives in equestons ill p. 50-35-

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LXX.

C.HAP, indulgence of enthuliaim, and eloquence 15, Pc. trarch, Italy, and Europe, were aftonished by a revolution which realized for a moment his most fplendid visions. The rife and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages 16: the fubject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard " will fometimes vivify the copious, but fimple, narrative of the Flo. rentine", and more especially of the Roman ". biftorian, commende surreinvo bone creball - voice

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To find the proofs of his enthuliaim for Rome. I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first vilit to Rome (tom. i. p. 323-335.). But in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused the prefent and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

16 It has been treated by the pen of a Jefuit, the P. du Cerceau, whose posthumous work (Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi Tyran de Rome, en 1347) was published at Paris 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemins, canon of Liege, a contemporary historian (Fabricius, Bibliot, Lat. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273, tom. iv. p. 85.).

17 The abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper fubject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was to deeply engaged (Memoires, tem, ii. p. 30, 51 320-417, notes, p. 79-76. tom. iii. p. 221-243. 366-375.). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

48 Giovanni Villani, I. xij. c. 89. 104. in Muratori, Rerum Itali-

carum Scriptores, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970. 981-983.

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19 In his jiid volume of Italian Antiquities (p. 249-548.), Muratori has inferted the Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xivth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi; which had been printed at Bracciano 1627, in 10, under the name of Tomato Fortiflocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited CHAP only by mechanics and lews, the marriage of an minkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future Birth, deliverer of Rome. From fuch parents Nicholas character, and pa Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor triotic defortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which Rienzi. fliey painfully beltowed, was the cause of his clory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæfar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefangable diligence the manufcripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to ex-

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Human nature is fcarcely capable of fuch fublime or flupid impartiality; but wholoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the foot and at the time, and paints, without defign or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

claim, "Where are now these Romans? their " virtue, their justice, their power? why was I " not born in those happy times"?" When the

20 The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviiith chapter of the Fragments (p. 399-479.), which, in the new division, forms the iid book of

the history in axxivil fmaller chapters or fections.

21 The reader may be pleafed with a specimen of the original idiom: Fò da foa juventutine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, megliore rettuorico, autorifta bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce leitore! moito ufava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Massimo, moito li dilettava le magnificentie di Julio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la die se speculava negli sittagli di marmo lequali laccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che esso, che fapesse lejere li antichi patassii. Tutte scritture antiche vulgarizzava; quesse siure di marmo justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, " Dove suoco quelli buoni Romani? dove " ene loro fomma justitia? poleramme trovare in tempo che quessi " fiuriano!"

republic

CHAR republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embaffy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the fixth, and the fatisfaction of converfing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a fingle garment and the charity of the hospital. this mifery he was relieved by the fense of merit or the fmile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and perfualive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the affaffins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The bleffings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters 22; they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circum-

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²² Petrarch compares the jealoufy of the Romans, with the eafy temper of the husbands of Avignon (Memoires, tom. i. Px 330-). I transcribe of the transcribe I and to speciment of distance Sance

france that diffinguished the lions, from the does CHAP. and ferpents, of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches: and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the fatire, inflamed their paffions. and announced a distant hope of comfort and de-The privileges of Rome, her eternal liverance. fovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the fenate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran 23. A numerous affembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the infeription by a version and commentary 24, and descanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the fenate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The fupine igno-

25 The fragments of the Lex Regia may be found in the Inferiptions of Gouter, tom. i. p. 242. and at the end of the Tacitus of Ernelti, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

²⁴ I cannot overlook a Rupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The Lex Regia empowers Vespasian to enlarge the Pomærium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not fo to the tribune; he confounds it with pomarium an orchard, translates lo Jardino de Roma cioene Italia, and is copied by the leis excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406.) and the French Millorian (p. 33.). Even the learning of Muratori has Dumbered over the passage.

CHAP rance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the ferious tendency of fuch representations: they might fometimes chaftife with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus 25 was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the good estate, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a defirable, a poffible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to affift, their promifed deliverer.

He affumes the government of Rome, A. D. 1347, May 20;

A prophecy, or rather a fummons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his deligns; a nocturnal affembly of an hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the first ften to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or refources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public diffres; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After fecuring a faithful band to protest his first declaration, he proclaimed through

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field in filent confernation this fra 25 Priori (Bruto) tamen similior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat, ut sub hoc obtentu liberator ille P. R. aperiretur tempore fuo Ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus (Opp. p. 536.).

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the city, by found of trumpet, that on the evening CHAPof the following day all persons should affemble without arms, before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty maffes of the Holy Ghoft; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, iffued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been perfuaded to fustain a part in this fingular ceremony, marched on his right-hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their defign. In the first, the banner of liberty. Rome was feated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn fword, was delineated in the banner of justice; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of concord and peace. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some fecret emotions which he laboured to suppress: he afcended without opposition, and with feeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in filent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent

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C HAP. absent from the city. On the first rumour, he returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi, that at his leifure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, fo urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career till he reached in fafety his castle of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was iffued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed: and their departure fecured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

with the title and office of tribune.

But fuch voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of fenator or conful, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the effence of that facred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the confent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most falutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of

Laws of the good estate.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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of the good eltate. By the first he fulfils the Chare tivis on that being special that no civil And mould be profined of beyond the term of same days. The daile of frequent perjury sills a shire with the control of the winter the shifte bigouler the fame penalty which his evidence would divernation the diforders of the times affight ducinpel the legilator to pumin-every hondride well death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyfunny of the nobles. was formally provided, that none, except the Supreme magiltrare, should possess or command The gates, bridges, of towers, of the state? that private garifons thould be introduced into the none mount bear arms or prefume to forcify their houses in the city of country; that the barons freak be responsible for the fafety of the highways and the free panage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers Mould be explated by a fine of a thouland marks of filver." But there regulations would have been imporent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the fword of the civil power. A Hidden alarm from the bell of the Capitol. could full fullimon to the Itandard above twenty thousand Volutteers: the support of the tribune and the haws required a more regular and permarient force. In each harbour of the coast, a weller was flationed for the affirance of commerce; book and a Handing militia of three hundred and fixty horse and thirteen fundred foot was levied, cloathed, Vol. XII. and

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CHAP. and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every foldier, who loft his life in the fervice of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of facrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearthmoney, the falt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins 26; and fcandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the falt-duty could be trebled by his judicious œconomy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their folitary independence; required their perfonal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath, of allegiance to the new government, and of fubmission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of fimple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Urfini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had fo often derided, and

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²⁶ In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4. p. 409.) perfumante quatro folli, in another quatro fiorini, an important variety, fince the florin was worth ten Roman folidi (Muratori, differt. xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear, that the former is more confiltent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

their diffrace was aggravated by the indignation C HAP. which they vainly struggled to disguise. The fame oath was fuccessively pronounced by the feveral orders of fociety, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artifans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of fincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal affociation of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boaft of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious ariftoeracy; and Clement the fixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusty fervant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he infinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost: enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people 27.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a Freedom and proffingle mind been more remarkably felt than in the perity of sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome man reby the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was public. converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, fwift to redrefs, inexorable to

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²⁷ Hocsemius, p. 398, apud du Cerceau, Hist. de Rienzi, P. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman historian (whom for brevity I shall name) Fortifiocca, I. ii. c. 4.

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CHAP. punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity. or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private fanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being defirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Urfini family, was condemned to reftore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses: and either from accident or defign, the same impartial rigour was exercifed against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himfelf been fenator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appealed by the tardy execution of Martin Urfini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tyber 28. His name, the purple of two car-

²⁸ Fortifiocca, 1. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck, we learn fome circumftances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marfeilles and Avignon. 2. The failors were of Naples and the ifle of Enaria, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 2. The navigation from Marfeilles was a coafting voyage to the

dinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mor- CHAP. tal difease, were difregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was fhort and fatisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the fentence of death: and after a brief confession, Urfini was led away to the gallows. After fuch an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, foon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (fays the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plow; the pilgrims visited the fanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As foon as the life and property of the subject are fecure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the bleffings of his government.

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mouth of the Tyber, where they took shelter in a storm, but, instead of sinding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal: the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 storins: a rich prize.

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. The tribune is respected in Italy, &c.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vait, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great feederative republication which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and affociates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epiftles were delivered to fwift and trufty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traverfed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored heaven for the fuccess of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason; could private interest have yielded to the public welfare; the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord, and closed the Alps against the Barbarians of the North. But the propitious feafon had elapfed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despise, or hate, the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers: they were followed by the ambaffadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar

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or majestic courtesy of a sovereign 39. The most CHAP. glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her husband, had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of Naples 30: her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a folemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates 31, the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the fword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiofity, wonder, and applaufe. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the and celefecret counfellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe Petrarch. the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol

29 It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were aftonished at the ease and majesty of the protector on his throne (see Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27-34, from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The confciousness of merit and power, will sometimes elevate the manners to the station.

30 See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. ii. l. xxiii. p. 220-229.), and the Life of Petrarch (Memoires, tom. ii. p. 143-148. 245-250. 375-379. notes, p. 21-37.). The Abbe de Sade wifbes to extenuate her guilt.

31 The advocate who pleaded against Jane, could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his mafter's epiftle. Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter fusceptus, et excusatio subsequens, necis viri tui te probant fuisse participem et consortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a fingular conformity.

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CHAP. LXX.

maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rifing greatness of the republic 32.

His vices and follies.

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic vifions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with aftonishment on the afcending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course, and the vicifitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprifing than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason: he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of profperity, his virtues were infenfibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the defire of fame with puerile and oftentatious vanity. He might have learned, that the ancient tribunes, fo strong and facred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian 33; and that as often as they vifited the city on foot, a fingle

32 See the Epistola Hortatoria de Capessenda Republica, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535-540.), and the vth eclogue or paftoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

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³³ In his Roman Questions, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. i. p. 505, 506 edit, Græc. Hen, Steph.) flates, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest opoler Sal oxnuari, nal con nal diality role stirty xared TON TONITON NATAWATER Das des (a faying of C. Curio) was my remine

finale wiator, or beadle, attended the exercise of CHAP. their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or fmiled, could they have read the fonorous titles and epithets of their fuccessor, "NICHOLAS, " SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF " Rome; Defender of Italy 34; Friend of " MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND " JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST:" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person 35, till it was fwelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propenfity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was cloathed, at least on public occafions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or fattin. lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and crofs of gold, and inclofing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and re-

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μαλλον αιξιται τη δυναμει, &c. Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

34 I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous

title of Zelator Italiæ, which Rienzi affumed.

ligious

³⁵ Eta bell' homo (l. ii. c. 1. p. 399.). It is remarkable, that the rifo farcastico of the Braeciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his fecond reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano, or Asinino (l, iii. c. 18. p. 523.).

LXX.

CHAP. ligious processions through the city, he rode on a white fleed, the fymbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a fun with a circle of flars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was feattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of maffy filver. The latest most and attitude

The pomp of his knightbood. A. D. I347, August 1.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry 36 betraved the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deferted. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclefiaftical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or fecretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and difmiffed the numerous affembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From

36 Strange as it may feem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna, and an Urfini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were ferved at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight buoni buomini. They afterwards received from Robert king of Naples the fword of chivalry (Hift. Rom. l. i. c. 2. p. 259.).

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the hands of a venerable knight he received the CHAP. order of the Holy Ghoft; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite fuch scandal and censure as by the prophane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprofy by pope Sylvester 37. With equal prefumption the tribune watched or reposed within the confecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfal. At the hour of worship he shewed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his fword, and gilt fpurs; but the holy rites were foon interrupted by his levity and infolence. Rifing from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice; "We summon to our tribunal pope "Clement; and command him to refide in his " diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred " college of cardinals 38. We again fummon the " two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis " of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: "we likewife fummon all the electors of Ger-

17 All parties believed in the leprofy and bath of Conftantine (Petrarch, Epist. Famil. vi. 2.), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vase which had been used by a Pagan, could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocfemius, apud du Cerçeau, p. 189, 190.).

"many, to inform us on what pretence they have

38 This verbal fummons of pope Clement VI. which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS. is difputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70-76.) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of

Avignon might not chuse to agitate this delicate question.

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CHAR.

"usurped the inalienable right of the Roman " people, the ancient and lawful fovereigns of the 56 empire 30.22 Unsheathing his maiden-fword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar. the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was filenced by martial prusic; and instead of withdrawing from the affembly, he confented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been referved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet. fuch as the Cæfars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either fex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Conflantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the fcarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by difcipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi *o; feven crowns of different leaves or metals were fuccessively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they reprefented the feven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary fpectacles might deceive or flatter the

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39 The fummons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (Cerçeau, p. 163-166.).

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⁴⁰ It is fingular, that the Roman historian should have over-looked this sevenfold coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerceau, p. 167—170. 229-).

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people; and their own vanity was gratified in the CHAP. vanity of their leader. But in his private life he LXX. foon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his fon, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expence; and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzidegenerated into the vices, of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps Fear and with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of the nobles Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands croffed on their of Rome. " breaft, they flood with downcast looks in the pre-" fence of the tribune; and they trembled, good " God, how they trembled "!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct foon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of fubverting a power which was no longer fo deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common difgrace: they affociated their wishes, and perhaps their defigns; an affaffin was feized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as soon as Rienzi deferved the fate, he adopted the fuspicions and

maxims,

⁴¹ Puoi se faceva stare denante a se, mentre sedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vraceia piecate, e co li capucci tratti. Deh como stavano paurosi! (Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 20. p. 439.) He saw them, and we fee them.

C. H.A.P. maxims, of a tyrant. On the fame day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Urfini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet. they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the found of the great bell the people affembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though fome might fympathife in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a fleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a fpeedy death from fuch ignominious fervitude. In the morning they understood their fentence from the vifit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody fcene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe; the fwords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying fpeeches by the found of trumpets. But in this decifive moment, Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the folendour of their names, their furviving kinfmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of

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of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal C H A P. injury, he vainly prefumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future fervice he pledged his faith and authority. " If "you are spared," faid the tribune, "by the " mercy of the Romans, will you not promife " to support the good estate with your lives and " fortunes?" Aftonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whifper a fecret, and more fincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution: they received the communion with the tribune, affifted at the banquet, followed the procession: and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were difmissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, confuls, and patricians 42.

During fome weeks they were checked by the They opmemory of their danger, rather than of their deli- pose Riverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, arms. escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were instantly restored; the

⁴² The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 222-229.), displays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the men the modification of the replies the reprostantals

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LXX.

CHAP. vaffals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to left advantage than in the roftrum: and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their num. bers were strong, and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amufed by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Urfini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their fecret adherents; and the barons attempted with four thousand foot and fixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprife. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarum-bell rung all night: the gates were strictly guarded, or infolently open; and after fome hefitation they founded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headstrong valour of the nobles in the rear; and after a fuccessful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restoration 15

Defeat and death of the Colonna, Nov. 20.

restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied CHAP. in death by his fon John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of feven, the feven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent. of the veteran chief, who had furvived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops 43: he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted with some truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate 44. His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were

43 Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (1.12. c. 104.) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the slight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortisiocca, or the anonymous citizen (1. ii. c. 34—37.).

144 In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerçeau, with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumspice (says Petrarch) familiæ tuæ statum, Colummensium domos: solito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum stabile, solidamq; permaneat.

Vol. XII.

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LXX.

C HAP. fecretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family 45. The people fympathifed in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detefted the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot, that he conferred on his son the honour of knighthood: and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood 46.

Fall and flight of the tribune Rienzi, A. D. 1347, Dec. 15.

A short delay would have faved the Colonna, the delay of a fingle month, which elapfed between the triumph and exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowefs. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and when the tribune proposed in the public council 47 to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measures; repelled the injurious charge of

45 The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinsmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the hoble families of Rome (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 110. tom. li. p. 401.).

46 Petrarch wrote a sliff and pedantic letter of confolation (Fam. l. vii. ep ft. 13 p. 682, 683.). The friend was loft in the patriot. Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.

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⁴⁷ This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollistore, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (Rer. Italicarum, tom. xxv. c. 31. p. 798-

treachery and corruption; and urged him to CHAP. prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the LXX. populace adhered to his cause, it was already disclaimed by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the facred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the infolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was fent to Italy, and after fome fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, facrilege, and herefy 48. The furviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a fense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the fervice of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino 49 in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by foliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty foldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found

48 The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi, are translated by the P. du Cerçeau (p. 196. 232.) from the Eccle-stastical Annals of Rodericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, No 15. 17. 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

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⁴⁹ Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man da natura inconstante e senza sede, whose grandfather, a crasty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera (1. vii. c. 102, 103.). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—151.

CHAP. the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known found, the people was filent and inactive; and the pufillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with fighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Revolutions of Rome, A. D. 1347-1354.

Without drawing his fword, count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Urfini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet fuch was the terror of his name, that the barons hefitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was scarcely obferved, that the new fenators derived their authority from the Apostolic See, that four cardinals were appointed to reform with dictatorial power the state of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other, and despised the commons: their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose, and were again demolished; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, fays the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had

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A was had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a con- C HAP. fraternity of the virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the prefence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two fenators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Urfini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was fucceffively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint struggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a

patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his

suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own

the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were

forgotten; and the Romans fighed for the peace

death was the reward of his cruelties.

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After an exile of feven years, the first deliverer Advenwas again restored to his country. In the disguise tures of Rienzi. of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary and Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through

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⁵⁰ The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33. 57. 78.) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1-4.). I have flightly paffed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

LXX.

CHAP, the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable: and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his perfonal merit. The emperor Charles the fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic; and aftonished an affembly of ambassadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfal of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghoft ". Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himfelf a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irrelistible fummons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the fufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the faviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported flowly, but in fafe custody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of herefy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved fome questions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes;

A prisoner at Avignon, A. D. 1351.

> 51 These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi feem alike ignorant, are furely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquifitor (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. c. 36. p. 819.). Had the tribune taught, that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of herefy and treason, without offending the Roman people.

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the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical CHAP. privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of Clement: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and facred character of a poet 52. Rienzi was indulged with an eafy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the bible, he fought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The fucceeding pontificate of Innocent the fixth Rienzi, feopened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was perfuaded, that the fuccessful rebel could alone appeale and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a folemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was fent into Italy, with the title of fenator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to superfede the use of his mission; and the legate, cardinal Albornoz 53, a confummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wifnes: the day of his entrance was a public festival; and his eloquence and authority re-

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52 The aftonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the vith epiftle of the xiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he confulted, and not of the ordinary Bafil edition (p. 920.).

53 Ægidius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1353-1367), restored, by his arms and counfels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose, that his name, or that of Wolfey,

had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

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CHAP. vived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary funshine was foon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a fecond administration of four months, Rienzi was maffacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the fociety of the Germans and Bohemians, he is faid to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adverfity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively affurance, which is the pledge of fuccefs, was now fucceeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the fenator was the fervile minister of a foreign court; and while he was fuspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who feemed defirous of his ruin, inflexibly refufed all fupplies of men and money; a faithful fubject could no longer prefume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the fignal of clamour and fedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of felfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was facrificed to his jealoufy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been affifted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor 54.

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⁵⁴ From Matteo Villani, and Fortifiocca, the P. du Cerçeau (p. 344-394.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head

A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the pa- C H A P. tience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries foon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all fubordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid fenator, waving the banner of liberty, prefented himfelf on the balcony, addreffed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to perfuade them, that in the fame cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he funk into abiect despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was befieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the fenator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he flood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiofity and wonder; the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his

head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable : he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

LXX. His death, A. D. 1354, September 8.

CHAP. favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold affaffin had not plunged a dagger in his breaft. He fell fenfeless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the fenator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and fervitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots 55.

Petrarch invites and upbraids the emperor Charles IV. A. D. I355, January-May.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Impe-In his passage through Milan he rerial crowns. ceived the vifit, and repaid the flattery, of the poetlaureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the fource of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of re-

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^{. 55} The exile, fecond government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12-25.). Petrarch, who loved the tribune, was indifferent to the fate of the fenator.

storing to Rome her glory and her provinces, he CHAP. had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was purfued by the reproaches of the patriot bard 56.

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and more humble wish, was to reconcile the of Avigshepherd with his flock; to recal the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language 57. The fon of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education: and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promifcuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps.

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third He folicits the popes non to fix their refidence at

56 The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch, are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 375-413.); but the deep, though fecret, wound, was the coronation of Zanubi the poet-laureat by Charles IV.

Avignon, the myftic Babylon, the fink of vice and

corruption, was the object of his hatred and con-

57 See in his accurate and amufing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (Memoires, tom. i. p. 261-265.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45-47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677-691.): his praise (p. 711-715.) and excuse (p. 771.) of the last of these pontiffs. His angry controverfy on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found (Opp. p. 1068-1085.).

CHAP.

tempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the foil, and that in every refidence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the fuccessor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was defolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the facred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their faints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping fpouse 58. But the cloud which hung over the feven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the twenty-fecond, Benedict the twelfth, and Clement the fixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change

Squalida fed quoniam facies, neglecta cultû
Cæfaries; multifque malis laffata fenectus
Eripuit folitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)
He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The
Epistles to Urban V. in prose, are more simple and persuasive
(Senilium, l. vii, p. 811—827. l. ix. epist. i. p. 844—854.).

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which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, CHAP. was finally accomplished by Gregory the eleventh. The execution of their defign was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deferved the epithet of wife. was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their Return of eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marfeilles, as if they had been fold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the fifth refided three years in the Vatican with fafety and honour: his fanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West devoutly faluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was foon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was faved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a faint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth; the migration of Gregory the eleventh Final rewas encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to

Urban V. A. D. 1367, October A. D. 1370, April 17.

turn of Gregory A. D. 1377,

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LXX.

CHAP. these visionary females 59. Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The refidence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the facred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new herefy of the most dangerous import 60. While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The fenate and people acknowledged him as their lawful fovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tyber 61. But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer fuffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and affert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount

> 59 I have not leifure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last folemn words of the dying pope, who admonished the affiftants, ut caverent ab hominibus, five viris, five mulieribus, fub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse feductus, &c. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionenfium, tom. i. p. 1223.)

> 60 This predatory expedition is related by Froiffard (Chronique, tom. i. p. 230.), and in the life of du Guesclin (Collection Generale des Memoires Historiques, tom. iv. c. 16. p. 107-113.). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been molested by fimilar freebooters, who afterwards paffed the Alps (Memoires

fur Petrarque, tom. iii. p 563-569.).

61 Fleury alleges, from the Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was figned the 21st of December 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (Hift. Ecclef. tom. xx. P. 275 }.

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Cassin had been consulted, whether he would ac- CHAP. cept the triple crown 62 from the clergy and people: "I am a citizen of Rome "," replied that venerable ecclefiaftic, "and my first law is the " voice of my country 64."

If superstition will interpret an untimely death 65; His death, if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; the heavens may feem to frown on a measure of March 27. fuch apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the eleventh did not furvive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great fchism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years.

62 The first crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloff. Latin. tom. v. p. 702.) on the episcopal mitre of the popes, is ascribed to the gift of Constantine, or Clovis, The fecond was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

63 Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 1194, 1195.) produces the original evidence which attefts the threats of the Roman ambaffadors, and the refignation of the abbot of mount Caffin. qui ultro se offerens, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud

velle quod ipfi vellent.

64 The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionenfium, tom. i. p. 363-486.) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P.i. p. 610-712). In the disputes of the schism, every circumflance was feverely, though partially, fcrutinifed; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, fo often and fo largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harlay library (p. 1281, &c.).

65 Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the foul? They betray the inftability of their faith. Yet as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, or as Beas pulberer amodernous reas (Brunck, Poeta Gnomici, p. 231.). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) the moral and

pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

CHAP. The facred college was then composed of twenty-LXX.

April 9.

Election of Urban VI.

two cardinals: fix of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who afcended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the fixth. The epiftle of the facred college affirms his free and regular election; which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost: he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclefiaftical fupremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During feveral weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till the fummer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of fecurity, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrify, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the feventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and whatever might

Election of Clement VII. Sept. 21.

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might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly C H A P. be prefumed that they would have facrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconfistent, narratives 66, the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiousness of the feditious Romans was inflamed by a fense of their privileges, and the danger of a fecond emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the univerfal cry; the fame threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; fome preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The fame constraint imposed the necessity of diffembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they foon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber fix cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible

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⁶⁶ In the first book of the Histoire du Concile de Pise, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP, zeal, which loudly cenfured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the facred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools 67. The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France 68. The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castille, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience, of Clement the feventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England 69, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the fixth, who was fucceeded by Boniface

> 67 The ordinal numbers of the popes feem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly stigmatifed as anti-popes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Prefat.). It is fingular, or rather it is not fingular, that faints, visions, and miracles, should be common to both parties.

> 68 Baluze strenuously labours (Not. p. 1271-1280.) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. king of France; he refused to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbanists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement, &c.?

> 69 An epiftle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553.) displays the zeal of the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond fea (Hume's History, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.).

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LXX.

Great 1378-1418.

· From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhône, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the West, the pen and the fword: the civil and ecclefiaftical order of fociety was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors 70. They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the feat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the fepara- Calamition of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compenfated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the fixth and his three fucceffors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Urfini still exercifed their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome afferted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the fword, and the dagger; and in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had purfued their domestic quarrels with-

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⁷⁰ Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infeffura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

C H A P. out the dangerous interpolition of a stranger. But in the diforders of the fchifm, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former, he was declared gonfalonier, or general, of the church, while the latter fubmitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrifon in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were fometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could fave the metropolis and the ecclefiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had asfumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome 71.

Negociations for peace and union, A. D. 1392-1407.

I have not undertaken the ecclefiastical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate

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⁷¹ It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292.) that he styled himself Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world fince the expulfion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of Rex Ramæ, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

masters of theological science 72. Prudently wav- C H A P. ing all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should fubstract 13 their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these phyficians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of an hasty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific defigns of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the infanity of Charles the fixth. At length a vigorous refolution was embraced; and a folemn embaffy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two arch-

72 The leading and decifive part which France affumed in the fchifm, is stated by Peter du Puis in a separate History, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the viith volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110—184.).

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73 Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. x. p. 1—78.) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance.

CHAP. bishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights. and twenty doctors, was fent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who assumed the name of Gregory the twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the fuccess of their commission, the ambassadors folicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he confidered as the genuine and proper feat of the fuccessor of St. Peter. In the name of the fenate and people, an eloquent Roman afferted their defire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be afcertained by mutual confent. "If · " the one advances," fays a fervant of Gregory, " the other retreats; the one appears an animal

" fearful of the land, the other a creature ap-" prehensive of the water. And thus, for a short

" remnant of life and power, will these aged

" priests

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LXX.

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The Christian world was at length provoked by Council their obstinacy and fraud: they were deferted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was fupported by a numerous affembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pifa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon: the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the fifth, and his vacant feat was foon filled by a fimilar election of John the twentythird, the most profligate of mankind. But inflead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the fynod and conclave were disputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the twelfth; and Benedict the thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Council Pifa were corrected by the council of Constance; of Constance; france, the emperor Sigifmond acted a confpicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic 1418. church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the twenty-third was the first victim: he

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⁷⁴ Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after ferving many years as fecretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric, Bibliot, medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lenfant has given the version of this curious epiftle (Concile de Pise, tom. i. p. 192-195.).

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CHAP. fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most fcandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, fodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambaffador convened the feffion, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deferted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the fynod of Constance proceeded with flow and cautious steps, to elect the fovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occafion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; fix of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English 15: the interference of strangers

> 75 I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigoroufly maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended, that Christendom was essentially distributed

was foftened by their generous preference of an CHAP. Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted tin v. with joy and obedience the noblest of her fons, the ecclefiaftical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican 76.

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distributed into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the leffer kingdoms (fuch as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English afferted, that the British Islands, of which they were the head, should be confidered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orknies, the British Islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from north to south measures 800 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches, (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the misfion of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Conftance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambaffador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipfic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. P. 447. 453, &c.).

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76 The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Bafil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candor, industry,

CHAP.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

Martin V.
A. D.
1417.
Eugenius
IV.
A. D.
1431.
Nicholas
V.
A. D.
1447.
Laft revolt
of Rome,
A. D.

1434, May 29-

October

26.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercifed near three hundred years by the senate, was first refumed by Martin the fifth 77. and his image and fuperfcription introduce the feries of the papal medals. Of his two immediate fuccesfors, Eugenius the fourth was the last pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people 78. and Nicholas the fifth, the last who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor 79. I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a conftable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; befieged his person in the palace; and shot vollies of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St.

industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lensant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form fix volumes in quarto; and as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the collection.

77 See the xxviith Differtation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the rst Instruction of the Science des Medailles of the Pere Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors, has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian: but I understand, that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

78 Befides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. P. i. p. 869. and tom. xxv. p. 256.), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infeffura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

79 The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (Concile de Basse, tom. ii. p. 276—288.), from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

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Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: CHAP. their batteries inceffantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dextrously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a fingle shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wifest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thoufand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The fynods of Ferrara and Flotence, the fear or refentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to fecure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed Last coroby the approach of Frederic the third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the emperor, character or the power of the Imperial candidate. III. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and imposing the best fecurity of oaths so and March 18.

nation of a German Frederic A. D. 1452,

80 The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope, is recorded and fanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Eneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foresee, that in a few years he should ascend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of Boniface VIII.

treaties.

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CHAP. treaties, Nicholas received with a fmiling countenance the faithful advocate and vaffal of the church. So tame were the times, fo feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the fuperfluous honour was fo difgraceful to an independent nation, that his fucceffors have excufed themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican; and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

The **f**tatutes and government of Kome.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleafure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a flight falute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewel, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace 81. According to the laws of Rome 82, her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or The election was annual: a fevere fcrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the

31 Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infessura, p. 1133.).

82 See in the statutes of Rome, the fenator and three judges (l. i. c. 3-14), the conservators (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17. l. iii. c. 4.), the caporioni (l. i. c. 18. l. iii. c. 8.), the fecret council (l. iii. c. 2.), the common council (l. iii. c. 3.). The title of feuds, defiances, acts of violence, &c. is spread through many a chapter (c. 14-40.) of the fecond book.

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departing fenator; nor could he be recalled to the CHAP. fame office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal falary of three thousand florins was affigned for his expence and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the His robes were of gold brocade or crimfon velvet, or in the fummer feafon of a lighter filk; he bore in his hand an ivory fceptre; the found of trumpets announced his approach: and his folemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to observe and affert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurifdiction. In these useful functions he was affisted by three learned strangers; the two collaterals, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attested by the laws; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed affociations for mutual defence. But the fenator was confined to the administration of justice: the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three conservators, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions affembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or caporioni; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the prior. lar legislature confisted of the secret and the common

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LXX.

CHAP. common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-fix. and forty, counsellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote: and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wife and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to fpeak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all diforderly acclamations were suppressed; the fense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman fenate and people. It would not be eafy to affign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and conftant practice, fince the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thoufand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodifed in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the thirteenth 83: this civil and criminal code is the modern

⁸³ Statuta alma Urbis Roma Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatû Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. Roma, 1580, in folio. The obfolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity, were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer

modern law of the city; and, if the popular af. CHAP, femblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol 84. The policy of the Cæfars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of 2 republic, while he reigned with the abfolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be Conspifuited to extraordinary characters, and that the Porcaro, genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in The political enthusiasm of Rienzi January 9. had exalted him to a throne; the fame enthufiafm. in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation fpotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the

racy of A. D.

and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

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84 In my time (1765), and in M. Grosley's (Observations fur l'Italie, tom. ii. p. 361.), the fenator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a profelyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the fenator and the confervator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the Statutes.

patriot

C HAP.

patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard, His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the feditious orator was guilty of treason: but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual difpute of fome boys and mechanics into a general rifing of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the fcene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of prefenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a confpiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, affembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republication Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, are shed as does fappeared

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appeared among them in a robe of purple and CHAP. gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise: the name and liberties of Rome; the floth and pride of their ecclefiastical tyrants; the active or paffive confent of their fellowcitizens; three hundred foldiers and four hundred exiles, long exercifed in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their fwords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he faid), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarmbell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The fenator, with a frong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a cheft, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his defign. such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was filent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the facraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their Vol. XII. Cc country.

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country 35. But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extind; and if they have fince risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

Last disorders of the nobles of Rome.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by difford, furvived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses were a fortrefs and a fanctuary: and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the fervice of their fwords and daggers. private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, Iometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houles: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclamations

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⁸⁵ Besides the curious though concise narrative of Machinel (Istoria Plorentina, 1. yi. Opere, tom. is p. 210, 211 edit. Londra, 1747, in 40), the Porcarian conspiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infessura (Rer. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1174, 1135.), and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Alberti (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. p. 609—614.). It is amusing to compare the style and sentiments of the courtier and citizen. Pacinus prosecto quo..... neque periculo horribisius, neque audacia detestabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditisimo uspiam excegitatum st.... Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene et liberta di Roma.

of the victorious Urani so. But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the strangers, who observed these partial disorders, admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state.

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion: and, if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may illy waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours

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The popes acquire the abfolute dominion of Rome, A. D.

⁸⁶ The diforders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. are exposed in the Diaries of two spectators, Stephen Insessar, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484; and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. li. p. 1683. 1138.

o join in the acclamation.

17. Est toute la terre de l'eglise troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Ursins), come nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne seroit et differend la terre de l'eglise seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets, qui soit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni gueres autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et bien conseillés); mais très souvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.



and loyal fubjects still Since the union of the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclefiaffical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the fixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal fovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the fucceffive fteps of their final fettlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the fixth, the martial operations of Julius the fecond, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times ". In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might fuccessfully wrestle with the adiacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as foon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it

of 88 By the economy of Sixtus V, the revenue of the ecclefiaftical ftate was raifed to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii. p. 291-296.); and fo regular was the military establishment, that in one mouth Clement VIII. could invade the dutchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iii. p. 64.). Since that time (A. D. 1397), the papal arms are happily rufted; but the revenue must have gained some nominal encrease.

89 More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These with then worthy fuccesfors, Fra-Paolo and Davifa, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scot-

land arole, to dispute the prize with Italy herfelf.

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contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of CHAP. Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chacing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often fubverted by the foldiers of the North and West, who were united under the flandard of Charles the fifth; the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the feventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned feven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals . After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost fatisfied, refumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples 81. The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the fea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly poffeffed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and

pool in the history of the Gothic fiege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 319-322.); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

Paul IV. may be feen in Thuanus (l. xvi—xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, prefumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ: yet the holy character, which would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.

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dependence of Italy, which continued almost with out diffurbance from the middle of the fixteenth Tto the opening of the eighteenth century to The Vatigan was fwayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king : his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the afylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all fides within the iron circle of defpotifm. The long habits of obedience and education fubdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and infensibly became the fervants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers. the produce of their estates was confumed in the private expences, which multiply the pleafores. and diminish the power, of the lord 3. b. The Colobing and Urfini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique folendour was rivalled or furpaffed by the fudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer. heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a fmooth and fragnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

initiated that may distain the unworthy preference of St

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This gradual change of manners and expenses is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 495-5047, who proves, perhaps too feverely that the most falutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most fellish causes, at larg

A Christian, a philosopher 93, and a patriot, will C HA P. be equally foundalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy y and the local majefty of Rome, the The eccleremembrance of her confuls and triumphs may governfeem to embitter the fense, and aggravate the shame, ment. of her flavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclefialtical government, it may be praifed in its prefent state as a mild, decent, and tranguil fyltem, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the fallies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But thefe advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a feptennial, election of a fovereign, who is feldom a native of the country: the reign of a young statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The fuccessful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels! of fervile faith, he has learned to believe because it is abfurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despife whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy, as the first of vir tues; to place the faints of the kalendar above shulivist bas the

Mr. Hume (Hift of England, volciop, 389) too haftily concludes, that if the civil and eccletraftical powers be united in the. fame person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, fince the temporal character will always predominate.

⁹⁴ A protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rathly condemn the zeal or CCA judgment

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C. H. A.P. the heroes of Rome and the fages of Athens; and to confider the miffal, or the crucifix as more useful instruments than the ploughor the doom In the office of nuncion or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire fome knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners : from fludy and experience he may fuspect the mystery of his profession; but the facerdotal artist will imbibe fome portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the fifth " burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloufter. In a reign of five years, be exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the profane fanctuaries of Rome 96, formed advaland milig tary force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal user and large encrease of the revenue, left five millions of crowns

Sixtus V. A. D. 1585-1590.

> judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the features of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Erajan and Anmanly simplicity and freedom? SI quis, five privates, five snigot

> 95 A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vitadi Sifte-Quinto (Amftel, 1721, 3 vols. in 1200), a copious and amufing work, but which does not command our abfolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are fupported by the Annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A. D. 1585-1590), and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus,

> (1, lxxxii, c. 1, 2, l, lxxxiv, c. 10, l, c. c. 8), to astroftid ad a go These privileged places, the quartieri or franchiscs, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum francistiarum hujufmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who in 1687 fent his ambailador, the marquis de Layardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and infult pope Insocent XI in the heart of his capital (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p 262-278. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xv. p. 494-496. and Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. C. 14. P. 55, 59.)

" in Romana Dialecto vulgari (A. D. 1727-1254, in Muratori, Antiquitat.

in the caltle of St. Angelois But his juffice was C HAP. fullied with cruelty, this activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the abuses revived the treasure was diffipated the entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his flatue was demolished by an ungrateful, or an injured, people?" no The wild and original character of Sixtus the fifth flands alone in the feries of the pontiffs to the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the pofitive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclefiaftical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind, nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome 98. and to alarm

This outrage produced a decree, which was inferibed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom: Si quis, sive privatus, sive magsitatum gerens de collocanda vivo pontisses statua mentionem facere aust, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum inumerum expers esto. MDXC. mense Augusto (Vita di Sisto V. tom. sii p. 469.). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue, should himself impose the prohibition.

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98 The histories of the church, Italy, and Christendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often discover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xivin and xvin centuries are preferred in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

r. Monaldeschi (Ludovici Boncomitis) Fragmenta Annalium Roman. A. D. 1328, in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates his own death at the age of 115 years.

in Romana Dialecto vulgari (A. D. 1327-1354, in Muratori,
Antiquitat.

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Antiquitat. medii Ævi Italiæ, tom. iii. p. 247-548.): the authentic ground-work of the history of Rienzi.

3. Delphini (Gentilis) Diarium Romanum (A. D 1370-1410), in the Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.

4. Antonii (Petri) Diarium Rom. (A. Di 1404—1417), tom. xxiv. p. 969.

 Petroni (Pauli) Mifcellanea Historica Romana (A. D. 1413-1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.

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6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) Diarium Rom. (A. D. 1472—1484), tom. xxiii p. 81.

2. Anonymi Diarium Orbis Roma (A. D. 1481—1492), tom. ii. P. ii. p. 1069.

3. Infestire (Stephani) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 1294, or 1378-1494), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1209-2 2755 fiel out W.

9. Historia Arcana Alexandri VI. sive Excerpta ex Diario John Burcardi (A. D. 1492—1503), edita a Godest. Gullelm. Reibnizio, Hanover, 2697, in 450. The large and valuable Ionval of Burcard might be completed from the MSS, in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foncemagne, in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xviii p. 597—606.). Except the last, all these fragments and diaries are inserted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and master in the history of

Collections of Muratori, my guide and master in the history of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that fubject : I. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (A. D. 500-1500), quorum petissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit, &c. xxviii. vols. in felio, Milan, 1723-1738. 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is ftill wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a disorderly and defective finte, a. Antiquitates Italia medii Avi, vi vols. in folio, Milan, 1738-1743, in laxy curious differtations on the manners, government, religion, &c. of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large Supplement of charters, chronicles, &c. 3. Differtioni fopra le Antiquita Italiane, iii vols. in 4to, Milano, 1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the same confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. Amaii d'Italia, xviii vols. in odavo, Milan, 1753-1756, a dry, though accurate and ufeful, abridgement of the history of Italy from the birth of Christ to the middle of the xviiith century. 5. Dell' Antichita Estenfee et Italiane, ii vols. in folio, Modena, 1717. 1740. In the history of this illustrious race, the parent of our Brunswick kings, the critic is not feduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the subject. In all his works, Muratori approves himfelf a diligent and laborious writer, who afpires above the prejudices of a Catholic prieft. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after paffing near fixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Proposto) Ludorico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and fuecessor Gian. Francesco Sok Muratori, Venezia, 1756, in 4to).

attaching ground-work of the alliery of Rienzi

arm March Area both with the bound of march

Delphine (Cerulis) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 180-12)

in the Recambidhearum, tomilité 2, ill p. 846.0 erect a fi Antonii (Peter) IXXII Por A H Dos - 2422), tone,

Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century .- Four Causes of Decay and Destruction .-Example of the Colifeum .- Renovation of the City .- Conclusion of the whole Work.

IN the last days of pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his fervants, the learned Poggius and a friend, afcended the Capitoline hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation . The place and the object gave ample scope for moralifing on the vicifitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primæval state, " luch as the might appear in a remote age, when "Evander entertained the stranger of Troy's, has noted with the fame confidence as the

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CHAP. LXXI. View and discourse of Poggiue from the Capitoline A. D.

I have already (not. 50, 51. on chap. 65.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

2 Confedimus in ipfis Tarpeiæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cojuldant, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimalque paflim confractas columnas, unde magna ex parte prospectus urbis aced by the loyalty or gratitude of the hibject. In all fig. quitaff

Eneld viii-97-369. This ancient picture, fo artfully introduced, and to exquilitely finished, must have been highly interestal ing to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathice in the feelings of a Roman, ill lo as as and lodt of assay I made Monatoris, by his nephew and fusceller Gir

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CHAP, "been delineated by the fancy of Virgila This "Tarpeian rock was then a favage and folitary " thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned " with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple "is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the "wheel of fortune has accomplished her revo-"lution, and the facted ground is again dif-" figured with thorns and brambles. The hill of "the Capitol, on which we fit, was formerly the " head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the "carth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the "footsteps of so many triumphs, tenriched with Withe spoils and tributes of formany nations. "This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! Thow changed! how defaced the path of vic-15 tory is obliterated by vines, and the benches "of the fenators are concealed by a dung-46 hill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and "feek among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obelisks, the coloffal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: furvey the other hills of the city, the vacant fpace is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they affembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the " reception of fwine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for " eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, "like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the " ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous 2012 Polles pertuftra omnie vacua edificus, rums vincira. relete compicies (Personal Assessment of the second

" relics that have furvived the injuries of time CHAP. " Tarpeian rock was then a farageutrof bna."

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LXXI.

His defcription

Thefe relics are minutely deferibed by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to those of classic superstition of the Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Ceftius, he could difeern. of the age of the republic, at double row of vaults in the falt-office of the Capitol, which were inferibed with the name and munificence of Gatulus 1912. Eleven temples were visible in fome degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon. to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vefpafian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 30 Of the number, which he rashly defines, of feven therma or public baths, none were fufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the feveral parts; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and aftonished the curious spectator. who, in observing their folidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the fize and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expence with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the eternity; he profitate, naked, and

5 See Poggius, p. 8-22.

inscriptions;

⁹¹⁴ Capitolium adeo . . . immutatum nt vinez in fenatorum subsellia successerint, stercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatinum montem vasta rudera ceteros colles perluftra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineifque oppleta conspicies (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21.).

CHAB inferiptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been afcribed to the bafer memory of Faultina and Gallienus. s. After the wonder of the Confeum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the pratorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the fituation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were flill erect; but the Egyptian obelifks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gift brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two maufoleums or fepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be loft; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the caftle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and feventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates and and

Gradual decay of Rome.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of diffress and anarchy, in which emDI

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pire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the CHAP. banks of the Tyber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every fuccessive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To meafure the progress of decay, and to afcertain at each zera, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and useless labour, and I shall content myself with two observations which will introduce a short enquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome . His ignorance may repeat the fame objects under frange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could observe the visible remains, he could listen to the tradition of the people, and he distinctly enumerates feven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many stately monuments of antiquity furvived till a late period, and that the principles of deftruction

⁶ Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragonia, in Bibliotheca St. Isidori Armario IV. Nº 69. This treatife, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283-301), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xiiimi circiter fæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus, et, ut ab illo ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: sed, quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ supererant pro modulo recenset, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283.).

⁷ The Pere Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502.) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his vifit round

CHAP. Struction acted with vigorous and encreasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the Septizonium of Severus, which is celebrated by Petrarch, and the antiquarians of the fixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were refisted by the folidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the flightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches. and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

Four causes of deftruction:

After a diligent enquiry, I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thoufand years. I. The injuries of time and nature II. The hostile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the ma-And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The injuries of nature;

1. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence: yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment, Of a fimple and folid edifice, it is not eafy however to circumscribe the duration. As the won-

her they were confinences round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on feveral buildings, especially porticoes, which had disappeared before the Chromatus, p. at. xiiith century.

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⁸ On the Septizonium, see the Memoires sur Petrarque (tom. i. p. 325.), Donatus (p. 338.), and Nardini (p. 117. 414.).

ders of ancient days, the pyramids of attracted the CHAP.
curiofity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn to, have dropt into the

grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæfars and caliphs, the fame pyramids fland erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and de-

minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the filent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and earthquakes;

and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the losty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the

great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the

works of ages into dust. Fire is the most power, fire is ful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry.

or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration,

the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either fix, or

9 The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, fince Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were confiructed 1000, or 3400, years before the clarest Olympiad. Sir John Marsham's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47.).

10 See the speech of Glaucus in the Iliad (z. 146.). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

Vol. XII.

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C HAP. nine days". Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fewel for the flames; and when they ceafed, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and feven were deformed by the relics of fmoking and lacerated edifices 12. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of diffress and anarchy. every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on lyber was ence

> 11 The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (Histoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74-118. ix. p. 172-187.) dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the fubsequent persecution of the Christians from November 15 of the same year.

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²² Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres folo tenus dejectæ : feptem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta. Among the old relics that were irreparably loft, Tacitus enu-merates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar confecrated by Evander præsenti Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsitæ et Græcarum artium decora multa quæ feniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. XV. 40, 41.).

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the naked walls, and maffy arches, that have CHAP. been despoiled of their prnaments. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as foon as they are devoured. the greater edifices which have refifted or escaped, are left as so many islands in a state of folitude and fafety. From her fituation, Rome inundais exposed to the danger of frequent inunda- tions. tions. Without excepting the Tyber, the fivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course: a shallow. fream in the fummer heats: an impetuous torrent, when it is fwelled in the fpring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the fnows. When the current is repelled from the fea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rife above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control. the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tyber was encreased by unusual rains; and the inundation furpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were stuate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the fame mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either fwept away by the fudden impulse, or disloyed and undermined by the long contimance, of the flood 13. Under the reign of Au-Enthing for, a vow of Ronnius; the palace of Numa; the cample Werta cum Penalibus popul Romani. He then deplores

A. U. C. 507, repentina subversio ipsius Romæ præventt triumphum Romanorum . . . diversæ ignium aquarumque clades pene absumsere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis aucius imbribus

LXXI.

CHAP. gustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks 14; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleanfing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins 15, the vigilance of his fuccessors was exercised by similar dangers and defigns. The project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests 16; nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The fervitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of na-

> in eaguare bow isr bribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædificia in plano posita delevit. Diversæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ segnior inundatio tenuit madesacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit impulsa dejecit (Orosius, Hist. 1. iv. c. 11. p. 244. edit. Havercamp). Yet we may observe, that it is the plan and fludy of the Christian apologist, to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

14 Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis

Littore Etrusco violenter undis VORST TUO

Ire dejectum monumenta Regis de tent , sometror part

Templaque Vestæ. (Horat. Carm, I, 2.) If the palace of Numa, and temple of Vesta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was confumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of vetustissima or incorrupta.

15 Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapfio-

nibus coarctatum (Suctonius in Augusto, c. 30.).

16 Tacitus (Annal. i. 79.) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the fenate against the measure: and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion, local interests would undoubtedly be consulted: but an English house of commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, " that nature had affigned to the rivers their proper course," &c.

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ture '7; and if fuch were the ravages of the Ty- CHAP. ber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself; the accumulation of rubbish and the earth, that has been washed down from the hills, is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level 18; and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river ...

> II. The hoftile attacks of the Barbarians

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to enquire how far they were animated by an and Chrishostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leifure to fatiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History, I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only refume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleafing romance, that the Goths and Vandals fallied rom Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of

nati has conjuged 17 See the Epoques de la Nature of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America, is that of anew and favage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition).

18 In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98. Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

19 Yet in modern times, the Tyber has fometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 268. 429. tom. xv. p. 99, &c.).

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Odin,

CHAP.

Odin ", to break the chains, and to chaffife the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tufcan and Corinthian orders. But in fimple truth, the northern conquerors were neither fufficiently favage, nor fufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unrefifting capital, the foldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of full or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their fearch; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the confuls and Cæfars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the fixth ", the Vandals on the fifteenth, day"; of the fenate, and of time.

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twelve years I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very feriously believed (vol. i. p. 390.). The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus, is darkness or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

Hiftory of the Decline, &c. vol. v. p. 325.

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LXXI.

and, though it be far more difficult to build than CHAP. to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a flight impression on the folid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genferic affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric 23; and that the momentary refertment of Totila 24 was difarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses, of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to eraze the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East 25 affords to them an example of conduct, and to us an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman profelytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen fuperstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the bufiness or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Chriftian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic: nor

²³ History of the Decline, &c. vol. vii. p. 29-33. vol. vii. p. 368, 374. vol. v. c. xxviii, p. 105—108.

III. The use and abuse of the materials.

C H A P. can any politive charge be opposed to the meritor rious act of laving and converting the majeftic firucture of the Pantheon 26, to slav A bridgem

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind, is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and confequently on the eafe or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local fituation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate confumption, they must view without defire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals 27. Gold and filver were the first objects of their avarice; as in every country, and

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²⁶ Eodem tempore petiit a Phocate principe templum, quod appellatur Pantheon, in quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiæ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii., P. i. p. 135.). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the calends of November to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (p. 297, 298.).

²⁷ Flaminius Vacca (apud Montfaucon, p. 155, 156. His Memoir is likewise printed, pp. 21. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini), and feveral Romans, doctrina graves, were perfuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the fecret marks filis nepotibulque. He relates fome anecdotes to prove, that in his own time, these places were vifited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors,

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in the smallest compass, they represent the most C H A P. ample command of the industry and possessions of A vafe or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some Barbarian chief; but the groffer multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon 28. The edifices of Rome might be confidered as a vast and various mine; the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and after foreign and domestic rapine had been fatiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could furpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the feat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the

works

p. 31. at the end of the Roma An 28 Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis deposuit: sed et ecclesiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta discooperuit (Anast. in Vitalian. p. 141.). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

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works of the Cæsars: but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratisted only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna 29 and Rome 30. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal so-vereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tyber and the sea; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the slothful luxury of Naples 31. But these examples of plunder or purchase

²⁹ For the spoils of Ravenna (musiva atque marmora) see the original grant of pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin, epit. lxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223.).

30 I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887—899.), de Rebus gestis Caroli magni, 1, v. 437—440. in the Historians of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quæ marmoreas præstabat Roma columnas, Quassam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit De tam longinqua poterit regione vetustas. Illius ornatum Francia ferre tibi.

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Historians of France, tom. v. p. 378.), extruxit etiam Aquifgrani basilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus structuram a Roma et Ravenna columnas et marmora devehi fecit.

(Opp. p. 536, 537, in Epistolà hortatoria ad Nicolaum Laurentium); it is so strong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii spoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas regiones urbis, atque honores magistratuum inter se divisos; (habeant?) quam una in re, turbulenti ac seditiosi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ consiliis et rationibus discordes, inhumani sæderis stupenda societate convenerant, in pontes et mænia atque immeritos lapides desæirent. Denique post vi vel senio collapsa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum sorstan corruerunt), de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus

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purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the CHAP. Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and fituation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls ftill described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a defert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the fenators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors: the use of baths 32 and porticoes was forgotten; in the fixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: fome temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the crofs; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyfter. Under the ecclefiaftical reign, the number of thefe pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries

fragminibus vilem questum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus fiebat), de imaginibus sepulchrorum fub quibus patrum vestrorum venerabilis civis (cinis ?) erat, ut reliquas fileam, defidiofa Neapolis adornatur. Sie paullatim ruinæ ipfæ deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch. Too Statistion

32 Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22. p. 108, 109.), and Muratori describes as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416.).

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C H A P. of men, twenty of women, and fixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests 33, who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were difregarded by a people infenfible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havock which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's 34. A fragment, a ruin, howfoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of fubstance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord 35, and many

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³³ See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 988. For this and the preceeding fact, Muratori himself is indebted to the Benedictine history of Pére Mabillon. dix cujus lagal eloria pe

³⁴ Vita di Sisto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

³⁵ Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum specioso: Romani postmodum ad calcem ædem totam et porticus partem disjectis columnis funt demoliti (p. 12.). The temple of Concord was therefore not destroyed by a sedition in the xiiith century, as I have read in a MS. treatise del' Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise assirms, that the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20.).

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capital structures, had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity 36. The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people 37; and I hesitate to believe, that even in the sourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand 38, the encrease of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have referved for the last, the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth

IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

36 Composed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. and published by Mabillon from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Musæum Italieum, tom. i. p. 97.).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas; Ex cujus lapsû gloria prisca patet. Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos Nullum hine indicium nobilitatis erit.

37 Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter spatium vacua videretur, populum habet immensum (Opp. p. 605. Epist. Familiares, ii. 14.).

38 These states of the population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Lancisi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122.).

century,

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CHAP. century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel; without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign, or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ, In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the fanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelps and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Urfini; and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice. of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters, the causes and effects of the public diforders. At fuch a time, when every quarrel was decided by the fword; and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for fafety or offence. against the domestic enemies, whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and defigns were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers 39 that were capable of refisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law which confined their height to the measure of fourscore feet. may be extended with fuitable latitude to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the fenator Brancaleone in the establishment of peace

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³⁹ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi, differtat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493-496. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work).

and justice, was to demolish (as we have already C HAP. feen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and difcord, as late as the reign of Martin the fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and folid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raifed on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæfar, Titus, and the Antonines 40. flight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a maufoleum, was transformed into a strong and fracious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has affumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo 41; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army 42; the sepulchre of Metella has funk under its outworks 43; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus

4º As for instance, Templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangapanis; et sane Jano impositæ turris lateritiæ conspicua hodieque vestigia supersunt (Montfaucon Diarium Italicum, p. 186.). The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titi, turris Cartularia; Arcus Julii Cæfaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Cosectis, &c.

41 Hadriani molem magna ex parte Romanorum injuria disturbavit : quod certe funditus evertissent, si eorum manibus pervia, absumptis grandibus saxis, reliqua moles exstitisset (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

42 Against the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia,

tom. ix. p. 147.).

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⁴³ I must copy an important passage of Montsaucon: Turris ingens rotunda Cæciliæ Metellæ fepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam folidi, ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum supersit: et Torre di Bove dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis.

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CHAP. were occupied by the Savelli and Urfini families 4; and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the fcandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo. they had refolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of fervitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a fiege; and in every fiege the arts and engines of destruction were laborioufly employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome, without a fovereign or a fenate, was abandoned fix months to the fury of civil war. " The houses," fays a cardinal and poet of the times 45, 66 were crushed by the weight and

> Huic fequiori ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum vifuntur; ita ut fepulchrum Metellæ quafi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Urfini atque Columnenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142.).

> 44 See the testimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are

ftill great and confpicuous.

45 James cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical Life of Pope Celestin V. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. P. iii. p. 621. l. i. c. 1. ver. 132, &c.)

Hoc dixisse sat est, Romam caruisse Senatû Menfibus exactis heu fex; belloque vocatum [vocatos] In scelus, in socios fraternaque vulnera patres: Tormentis jecisse viros immania faxa: Perfodisse domus trabibus, fecisse ruinas Ignibus; incensas turres, obscurataque fumo Lumina vicino, quo sit spoliata supellex.

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" velocity of enormous stones "; the walls were CHAP. " perforated by the strokes of the battering ram; LXXI. " the towers were involved in fire and fmoke; " and the affailants were stimulated by rapine and " revenge." The work was confummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they razed to the ground 47. In comparing the days of foreign, with the ages of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city, and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. " Be-"hold," fays the laureat, " the relics of Rome, "the image of her pristine greatness! neither " time nor the Barbarian can boast the merit of " this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated " by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of "her fons; and your ancestors (he writes to a " noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-" ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish " with the fword 48." The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multardes aracció eltror solo: tiplied

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46 Muratori (Differtazione sopra le Antiquitá Italiane, tom. i.
p. 427-431.) finds, that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are sometimes

150 pounds.

47 The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and misthicvous practice; and strictly enjoins, that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gualvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script, Rerum Malicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041.).

computed at xii or xviii cantari of Genoa, each cantaro weighing

43 Petrarch thus addresses his friend who, with shame and tears, had shewn him the moenia, lacere specimen miserabile Vol. XII. E e Rome,

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C H A P. tiplied by each other; fince the houses and towers. which were fubverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

The Colifeum or amphitheatre of Titus.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the Coliseum 49, either from its magnitude or from Nero's coloffal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and feats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with feveral stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly confumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods, and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brafs, or overfpread with leaves of filver and

Romæ, and declared his own intention of reftoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epift. Paulo Annibalenfi, xii. p. 97, 98.):

Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ Reliquiæ teftantur adhuc; quas longior ætas Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus heu! heu! Quod ille nequivit (Hannibal)

Perficit hic aries.

49 The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei, profesfedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of Coloffeum, or Colifeum: fince the fame appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a coloffal statue; fince that of Nero was erected in the court (in atrio) of his palace, and not in the Colifeum (P. iv. p. 15-19. l. i. c. 4.).

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gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanati- CHAP. cism, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Colifeum, many holes are difcerned; and the two most probable conjectures reprefent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by folid links of brafs or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals 50: the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artifans of the Colifeum are mentioned in an ancient furvey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades 51. duced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: " As long " as the Colifeum stands, Rome shall stand; when " the Colifeum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome " falls, the world will fall 52." In the modern fystem of war, a situation commanded by three

50 Joseph Maria Suarés, a learned bishop, and the author of an history of Præneste, has composed a separate differtation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the Roman Thesaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (Diarium, p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unam germanamque causam foraminum.

51 Donatus, Roma Vetus et Nova, p. 285.

⁵² Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabis et Roma; quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Ducange Glossar. med. et insimæ Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 407. edit. Basil.). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

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hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and the Colifeum 53.

Games of Rome. The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of the Testacean mount and the Circus Agonalis 54, were regulated by the law 55 or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the pallium 55, as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expence 57; and the races, on foot,

53 I cannot recover in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i.) the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

54 Although the fructure of the Circus Agonalis be deftroyed, it ftill retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona): and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the Monte Testaceo, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggon-loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186.).

55 See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaceo are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Autonius from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script-Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.).

56 The Pallium, which Menage fo foolifhly derives from Palmarium, is an easy extension of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, differt. xxxiii.)

57 For these expences, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver

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foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled CHAP. by a tilt and tournament of feventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hun- A bulldred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion Colifeum, of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Colifeum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times 58. A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and feated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Urfini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house,

LXXI. feaft in the September 3.

for which Judas had betrayed his mafter to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish, as well as of Christian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem).

who had fprained her ancle in the garden of

Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were

58 This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum, is described from tradition, rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, S ript. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536.): and however fanciful they may feem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

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CHAP. drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild-bulls, on foot as it should feem, with a fingle spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has felected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclefialtical state; Malatesta, Polenta. della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annabaldi, Altieri, Corfi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the fpirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone like " the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: " I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover: " I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: " My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide: " If I am drowned in blood, what a plea-" fant death," the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Urfini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though fad, I am strong:" "Strong as I am great:" " If I fall," addressing himself to the fpectators, " you fall with me:" - intimating (fays the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the fubjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and

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and bloody. Every champion fuccessively en- CHAP. countered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupedes, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the lofs of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the fide of their adverfaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a fecond holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous fympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter 59.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, per- Injuries, haps a fingular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorfe. In the fourteenth century, a fcandalous act of concord fecured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Colifeum 60; and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Ro-

59 Muratori has given a separate differtation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

⁶⁰ In a concise but instructive memoir, the abbé Barthelemy (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century, de Tiburtino faciendo in the Colifeum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

C H A P.

mans 61. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the fourth furrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent 62. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The infide was damaged; but in the middle of the fixteenth century, an æra of tafte and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand fix hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourfcore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace, may curse the facrilege and luxury of these upstart princes 63. A similar re-

62 Colifeum ob flultitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad calcem deletum, fays the indignant Poggius (p. 17.): but his expression, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xyth century.

62 Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (No 72.). They fill hoped, on fome future occasion, to revive and vindicate their

grant.

63 After measuring the priscus amphitheatri gyrus, Montsaucon (p. 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiv. p. 371.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "Quod non secerunt Bar-" bari, secere Barbarini," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words.

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proach is applied to the Barberini; and the repe- CHAP. tition of injury might be dreaded from every reign. till the Colifeum was placed under the fafeguard and confeof religion, by the most liberal of the pontiffs, the Coli-Benedict the fourteenth, who confecrated a spot which perfecution and fable had stained with the blood of fo many Christian martyrs 64.

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a Ignorance view of those monuments, whose scattered frag- barism of ments fo far furpals the most eloquent descriptions, the Romans. he was astonished at the supine indifference 65 of the Romans themselves 66; he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis 67. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old furvey of the city which was composed about the

⁶⁴ As an antiquarian and a prieft, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Colifeum: Quod fi non suopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuiffet quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore facrum tantopere fævitum effe.

⁶⁵ Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impose a fine of 500 aurci on whofoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo reprefentent.

⁶⁶ In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 322, &c.), Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stuporis mole obrutus Præsentia vero. mirum dictů, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoresque funt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hâc urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605. Familiares, ii. 14. Joanni Columnæ).

⁶⁷ He excepts and praifes the rare knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico nufquam minus Roma cogne scitur quam Romæ.

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beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol 68 may provoke a fmile of contempt and indignation. "The Capi-" tol," fays the anonymous writer, " is fo named " as being the head of the world; where the " confuls and fenators formerly refided for the se government of the city and the globe. The ftrong and lofty walls were covered with glass " and gold, and crowned with a roof of the " richest and most curious carving. Below the " citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose " value might be esteemed at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a fmall bell " fuspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art magic 69, that if the province " rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round

After the description of the Capitol, he adds, statuæ erant quot sunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem dispositæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, statim imago illius provinciæ vertebat se contra illam; unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant custodes senatui, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum sonuit; sacerdos qui erat in speculo in hebdomadâ senatoribus nuntiavit: Agrippa marched back and reduced the—Persians (Anonym. in Montsaucon, p. 297, 298.).

69 The fame writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis invifibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmfbury (de Gestis Regum Anglorum, l. ii. p. 86); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (No 81. 103.) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the Goths) invoked the dæmons for the discovery of hidden

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" to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, CHAP. " the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, " and the senate was admonished of the impend-"ing danger." A fecond example of less importance, though of equal abfurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have fince been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excufed; but thefe Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most fecret actions; and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves 70. Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or defign had buried under the ruins, the refurrection was fortunately delayed till a fafer and more enlightened age". The Nile, which now adorns the

7º Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191.) justly observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 19.).

⁷¹ William of Malmsbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87.) relates a marvellous discovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the

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C HAP. the Vatican, had been explored by fome labourers, in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by fome vifits of curiofity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave 12. The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-fuit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to fatisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the fentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not refcued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen 73.

Reftoration and ornaments of the city, A. D. 1420, &c.

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his fucceffors, restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclefiastical state. The improvements of Rome, fince the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city, is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which

enormous wound in his breaft (pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable refts on the flightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the flatues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

72 Prope porticum Minervæ, statua est recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie, tantæ magnitudinis, ut figna omnia excedat, Quidam ad plantandos arbores scrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum adeuntium fastidiumque pertæsus, horti patronus congestà humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

33 See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca, No 57, p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 410).

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supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufac- CHAP. tures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness': the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopelefs vaffals; and the fcanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A fecond and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis, is the refidence of a monarch, the expence of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been loft in the fall of the empire: and if some streams of the filver of Peru and the gold of Brafil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclefiaftical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and feventy thousand inhabitants 74; and within the spacious inclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overfpread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and fplendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of fuperstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare)

⁷⁴ In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 fouls (Labat, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, tom. iii. p. 217, 218.). In 1740 they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have fince continued in a progressive state.

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CHAP. has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expence of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been profituted in their fervice, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which tafte or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclefiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, fince these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the fecond, Leo the tenth, and Sixtus the fifth, is accompanied by the fuperior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the fame munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. trate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæfars and confuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long feries of old, or of new, arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rifes 15

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rifes between two lofty and perpetual fountains, CHAP. to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student 75: and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once favage, countries of the North.

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Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the at- Final contention will be excited by an history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene, in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events

75 The Pere Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his vifits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8-20. p. 104-301.). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes obscuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still fighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, fuch as Mountfaucon defired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furnish a folid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

most

CHAP. most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæfars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the diforders of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and fects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal fovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his fubject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiofity and candour of the Public,

> LAUSANNE, June 27, 1787.

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